

IN THESE TIMES

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Photo by Jane Melnick

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IN THESE TIMES

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NEWSFRONT

Poisoned puppies seek revenge

Murdoch mugs mags

This week Rupert Murdoch, an Australian millionaire who already owns 87 newspapers, 11 magazines, and seven broadcasting stations in Australia, England and the U.S., won controlling share in the New York Magazine Co., which publishes the *Village Voice*, *New York*, and *New West*. Several staff people, including political writers Richard Reeves and Ken Auletta, have quit in protest.

Murdoch is known for exploiting the public's interest in murder, rape, torture and incest. Murdoch papers typically headline "3 Girls on Beach Death Charge" and "Army to Poison 350 Puppies." A recent *San Antonio Star* article began, "A divorced epileptic, who told police she was buried alive in a bathtub full of wet cement and later hanged upside down in the nude, left San Antonio for good this weekend."

Murdoch's takeover was facilitated when two leading stockholders, Carter Burden and Brattle Bull, whom the *Voice's* Alexander Cockburn described as "two outstanding arguments for the 100 percent inheritance tax," broke with publisher Clay Felker and decided to sell to Murdoch rather than to the *Washington Post's* Katherine Graham. After a losing year, Felker had been looking for buyers.

While Murdoch denied he intended to bring "flesh and trash" to the three magazines, his appointment of James Brady as editor of *New York* was an ominous sign. Brady made his mark as a gossip columnist for *Women's Wear Daily* and had recently been in charge of a new gossip page in Murdoch's recently purchased *New York Post*.

Here comes the cavalry

The American debate over defense and foreign policy often takes the form of one side or another issuing authoritative studies intended to support its point of view. Prior to John Kennedy's taking office in 1961, such studies uncovered a "missile gap." This year a series of studies have been made in response to President-elect Carter's declared intention to cut the defense budget and to pursue the SALT talks with the Soviet Union.

The first study came from the Central Intelligence Agency. Major General George F. Keegan Jr., who had opposed the 1972 weapons treaties with the Soviet Union on the grounds that it was a cover for an imminent Soviet war threat against

the U.S., succeeded in convincing George Bush, Gerald Ford's appointed head of the CIA, to conduct a review of a recent CIA study that, as in the past, had discovered that the Soviet Union was intent on only achieving military equality with, and not superiority over, the U.S.

Bush appointed a group of generals and hawkish professors who shared a more pessimistic view of Soviet aims and in a study that the *New York Times* reported left some CIA officials "speechless" found that the Soviet Union is intent on achieving military superiority over the U.S. The only question the group left unanswered is "When will they achieve it?"

The answer to their question came in early January from the Congressional Research Service, which reported that militarily "the quantitative balance continues to shift toward the Soviet Union."

Armed with these studies, Pentagon Chief Donald Rumsfeld said that the U.S. must act now to reverse the trend toward Soviet superiority. In an interview in *U.S. News and World Report*, NATO head Gen. Alexander Haig reiterated that the Soviet military buildup had "radically altered the nature of Soviet military capabilities, transforming what was once an essential continental military force to one of global dimensions capable of supporting an imperialistic phase in their foreign policy."

Finally, on Jan. 11 the newly formed Committee on the Present Danger, which includes Dean Rusk, Eugene Rostow, David Packard, Matthew Taylor, and Elmo Zumwalt, issued a statement on the Soviet military threat. "The principal threat to our nation, to world peace, and to the cause of human freedom," the statement said, "is the Soviet drive for military dominance based upon an unparalleled military buildup."

Last week, in their confirmation hearings both Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown found themselves faced with the recent "studies." Both denied any Soviet superiority. Brown explained how the much heralded Soviet Backfire-B bomber is inferior to the old U.S. B-52.

But the studies had their effect. Brown reassured reporters that it would be impossible to make defense cuts before 1979.

San Francisco sheriff sentenced

In San Francisco, Sheriff Richard Honigisto, known for his support for progressive causes, was sentenced to five days in jail for not carrying out an eviction notice against the elderly Chinese and Filipino tenants of the International Hotel. He is presently out of jail on appeal.

The Four Seas Corporation bought the International Hotel in 1975 and has been trying to evict the tenants so that it can demolish the building. With the support of San Francisco community activists, the tenants have held out.

Last week they appeared to have won when the San Francisco Board of Supervisors decided to have the housing authority use its power of eminent domain to buy the building and sell it back to the tenants. But the Four Seas Corporation would not sell and the courts upheld them. This week San Francisco police will again be asked to evict the tenants.

A new TV treat?

On Monday Gary Gilmore is scheduled to face a Utah firing squad. Meanwhile in Dallas, KERA-TV won the right to televise local executions. The station had set its sights on the execution of Mark Milton Moore, which had been scheduled for Jan. 14 before U.S. Supreme Court jus-

tice Lewis Powell indefinitely postponed his execution.

Lesbian ordained

In New York, Ellen Barrett, a self-proclaimed lesbian, was ordained as an Episcopalian priest. Barrett's ordination sparked protests from the Vatican and from an Australian clergyman who said, "Someone must speak out, lest the man in the street think the whole church has gone mad."

But Bishop Paul Moore who ordained Barrett responded by saying that "her personal life has never been under criticism. Many persons with homosexual tendencies are in the ordained ministry."

Spanish democracy nears

Spanish prime minister Adolfo Suarez began negotiations last week with representatives of the Democratic Opposition which sent a four-member team consisting of a Socialist, a Christian Democrat, a Liberal, and a Basque Nationalist. The Communist party, which is also part of the Opposition, decided not to be formally represented.

The Opposition is trying to shape the direction of Spain's democratization. Foremost among their demands are the release of over 200 political prisoners and the legalization of the Communist party.

At the same time, large-scale demonstrations and a two-day strike in the Basque city of Bilbao were reported. They were called in response to the killing of a teenager at a pro-amnesty demonstration the week prior.

Reuters reports that Suarez is now considering an amnesty for all political prisoners and allowing the Communists to participate as individuals but not as a party in next spring's parliamentary elections.

The spirit of '68

Six Czechoslovakians, who were among 282 signers of a recent protest against the Gustav Husak government, were arrested and then released in Prague. They included Jiri Halek, who was foreign minister in 1968 under Alexander Dubcek, and Vaclav Havel and Pavel Kohout, two playwrights.

The protest statement, which was called "Charter 77," had said that "fundamental rights do not exist in our country in any other way than on paper." It had accused the government of reprisals against Dubcek sympathizers.

In East Germany, at least 12 East Germans who had collected signatures to protest the exiling of poet Wolf Bierman are still in jail. The "Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Socialism" which organized the petition drive said that people who supported the petition were being sacked from their jobs.

The recent pattern of protest and reprisal in Eastern Europe comes in the wake of the Helsinki agreement, which committed the Warsaw Pact countries to upholding civil liberties, and the dissension in the European Communist movement caused by the spread of "euro-communism."

Chinese wallposter

In Peking, Reuters reports that wall posters went up saying that the time was ripe "to restore socialist democracy" and calling for the Chinese people to choose their own leaders. While ostensibly an attempt to restore former vice-premier Teng Hsiao-peng to power, the wall posters may also be a veiled protest against Hua Kuo-feng and the current leadership.

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Carter package: same old business

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

After weeks of speculation and debate, President-elect Carter unveiled the new administration's economic stimulus program, designed to ease the combined high unemployment and inflation that put him in office.

Initial responses to the plan, most of which was agreed to in principle by the Democratic leadership of Congress, generally were favorable from business. But the AFL-CIO called the package a "retreat" from Carter's campaign pledge to reduce joblessness.

A stimulus program gained wide support after the natural recovery from recession turned alarmingly sluggish at the end of 1976. A troupe of powerful bankers and industrialists met Carter in Plains soon after the election to encourage such a program. They recommended around \$15 billion-worth of tax cuts and spending programs to rekindle the upturn. Labor called for a \$30 billion program.

The announced plan will cost between \$12 billion and \$16 billion in expenditures and revenue losses in this year's budget. Unexpectedly, Carter and his advisors proposed extending most of the measures for a second year into fiscal year 1978. The second round could be adjusted after observing the economy's performance during 1977.

The launch of Carter's economic policy was noteworthy for its moderation of earlier announced goals. Although Carter just weeks ago spoke of reducing unemployment from the present rate of 8.1 percent to 6.5 percent in one year, Charles Schultze, his chief advisor on the economy, now points to 7.0 percent unemployed as the new goal. Schultze said unemployment would drop to at least 7.5 percent even without any stimulus.

►Tax rebate sharply criticized.

A one-time rebate on 1976 taxes will be the costliest portion of the package, reducing revenues by between \$7 billion and \$11 billion. The rebates—return of already paid income taxes—are intended to stimulate demand for consumer goods and spark the economy's tendencies to expand at this stage of the business cycle.

The idea has been sharply criticized by some, however, on a number of counts. Critics maintain that one-shot tax cuts are often saved by recipients or used to retire old debts. As little as 20 percent, according to one economist, is spent, and very little demand is created. Others disagree,

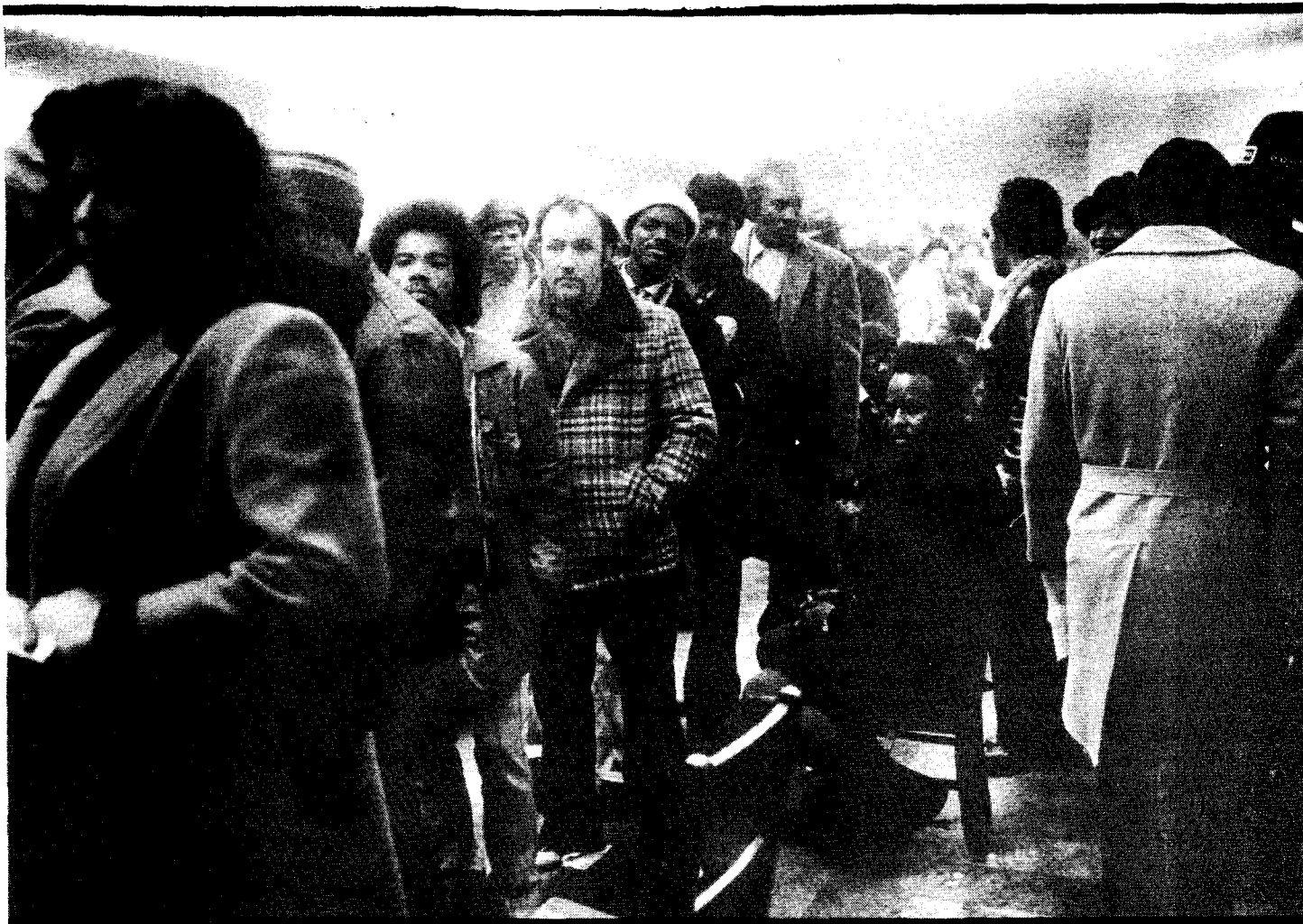


Photo Cidne Hart/LNS

Unemployment office in east-side Detroit.

saying the Ford rebate in 1975 helped end the worst recession since the 1930s.

Another criticism is that those with the lowest incomes who would spend all their bonanza on necessities are cut out of the program because they are too poor to pay taxes in the first place. Carter rejected a proposal to include these workers by absorbing a portion of Social Security payroll taxes. Retirees collecting their Social Security will be included, however.

Employers, on the other hand, will receive a cut in their Social Security payroll taxes of about 5 percent. The resulting reduction in labor costs is intended as a spur to hiring. No one has challenged the implications of government intervening directly to help companies pay their workers' wages and thereby increase corporate profitability from that labor, although the AFL-CIO did denounce the proposal as a "wage subsidy for already tax-pampered corporations."

A permanent income tax reduction will

be instituted to aid workers ranging from those just barely paying taxes to those earning \$17,000 a year.

Finally, public service employment will be increased from its present 300,000 to 500,000 this year. An additional 300,000 jobs in public service would be created in 1978 if deemed necessary and non-inflationary.

A doubling of the public works program to \$4 billion is also contemplated, with authority for a later hike to \$6 billion to be held in reserve, pending observation of the effect.

►Keeping expectations down.

A sense of keeping expectations to a minimum dominates the Carter program and official statements on it. Although the economy is generally presumed to need a shot in the arm to prevent a new slide, business fears that too much of a fix would renew inflationary pressures. Carter needs above all the confidence of the

business community that inflation will be checked. The expectations of higher prices could easily prompt major producers to hike their own prices and beat the rush.

Carter would be essentially helpless in such a situation, as shown by last month's price increases in steel during a period of declining demand. His heavily business-oriented cabinet appointments (including three directors of IBM) have been calculated to reassure business circles that the job expansion needed to satisfy his election coalition will not threaten the present relatively low-inflation growth.

The new chief executive's strict care not to outpace significantly the system's own present expansionary tendencies will mean an agonizingly long wait for most of the nation's destitute. By next Jan. 1st only 1-1.5 million of the 8 million officially out of work in the U.S. will be earning a weekly paycheck.

For the rest, there will be only Carter's promise of better times ahead. ■

"A mosquito on an elephant's rump"

In These Times interviewed an authoritative Washington observer and economist, who asked to remain anonymous, about Carter's economic proposals.

What do you think of Carter's proposal for a \$15 billion economic stimulus in 1977?

Basically, Carter's package is timid, inadequate, wasteful and misdirected.

Timid in the sense that he's very frightened of the business community politically.

It's inadequate in the sense that it is very small—measured by moderate economists like Alice Rivlin [of the Congressional Budget Office], or liberals like Walter Heller [Kennedy's chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers] or conservatives like Paul McCracken [Nixon's chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers] or as against the standards of the Kennedy-Johnson years.

It's wasteful in that it is largely tax rebates for middle class people who will spend it on things that are not needed when there are many needs in the econo-

my and in the society that ought to be fulfilled.

And it's clearly misdirected because it does not aim sharply and clearly at fulfilling the kinds of social and economic goals that we ought to have.

Within Carter's own framework of simply trying to stimulate employment, it's minuscule. We're moving into an economy that will be over \$2 trillion next year and we're talking about \$15 billion—that's about as much kick in economic stimulation as a mosquito on an elephant's rump.

Has Carter regressed from a more ambitious program?

Well, Carter's initial impulse two years ago was to talk about getting unemployment down to 1 or 2 percent levels—in other words, levels that are common in most advanced industrial countries or have been until recently—and he was talked out of that by several of his economic advisers, as inherently too inflationary.

Who talked him out of it?

Well, Klein and the entire economic establishment. They take an extremely conservative view by any other western standards.

Why this route instead of a more stimulative one?

He's extremely politically cautious. It doesn't have much to do with economics. It has to do with maintaining the political allegiance of the business community, which I think is something he's not going to be able to do for long anyway.

It's a very short term point of view, though. The thing that will do him in—just as it did Ford in—is that the economy is in a disastrous state now. Ford tried exactly the same approach, which was mild, careful stimulation in order to maintain business confidence and what happened was that he lost the election. The real factors in the economy did not respond and he started getting big slippages and, by and large, no president can

handle that for very long.

What would you recommend if you were able to get Carter's ear?

Basically, there are enormous unfilled needs. There's absolutely no housing stimulation in Carter's package and that is the first place to begin a serious program. It's not expensive to stimulate housing at the federal level. You could also do it in a way that could both produce low-skilled jobs and conserve energy if you used the housing programs to build in new forms of insulation and better heating systems, solar energy.

You could begin rebuilding the transportation systems—both the rails and the mass transit systems in a way that both puts people to work and conserves energy and also helps redesign our disastrously failing cities.

A program could be focused and directed and designed in a way that met basic needs rather than a timid and inadequate and generalized stimulative package. ■

Food & Land



Photo by Ken Friesmore

By Cary Fowler

Bob Bergland—farmer, three-term congressman from Minnesota, and national vice-chairman of the Carter-Mondale Task Force on Food and Agriculture—is Jimmy Carter's choice for Secretary of Agriculture.

Early in the presidential campaign, Carter promised to replace Secretary Earl Butz with a "real farmer." To many consumer, minority, and environmental groups, Butz had become an offensive example of policy-making based on prejudice and privileged interests. He had served as director of Ralston Purina,

tural affairs and kept his ties with farming interests back home.

In 1968 he made his first try for Congress, announcing during the campaign his intention to run again in 1970 if unsuccessful. After falling 4,000 votes short in the '68 election, he hired people to farm his land and kept right on campaigning. Two years later, Minnesota's seventh district, a relatively poor, overwhelmingly rural district covering nearly half the state, replaced its conservative Republican incumbent with Bergland, who had steadfastly criticized Nixon's farm policy.

The secretary-designate's record in Congress clearly places him in the liberal camp. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) gave him an 83 percent favorable rating in 1974 and upped that to 95 percent in 1975. In 1976 Bergland voted for legislation supported by the Friends Committee on National Legislation 80

his work cut out for him. The present farm bill expires on the last day of 1977. Congress will begin hearings on the new farm bill in January or February and will work closely with the new secretary in writing it. With a sympathetic president in the White House, new farm legislation with increased price supports and a system of grain reserves is likely to become law. Expansion of food aid abroad and modifications of the food stamp program at home will also compete for Bergland's attention in 1977.

There are some 200 "political" positions at USDA that could be refilled. All of the current assistant and undersecretaries will be replaced. "Bergland's true colors will be seen in his appointments," asserts Susan DeMarco of the Agribusiness Accountability Project. "We'll know he means to shake things up if he appoints someone like Jim McHale (form-

must support full farm production within the U.S. and must work to expand American agricultural sales abroad, regardless of the effects on Third World economies or U.S. food prices.

Butz's and Bergland's positions on the AFL-CIO's refusal to load grain bound for the USSR in September 1975, for instance, were indistinguishable. The AFL-CIO claimed the sales would shoot up domestic food prices. Butz fought them vehemently while Bergland attacked the union's actions as "totally inconsistent with our principles of government by law."

Significantly, *Feedstuffs: The Weekly Newspaper for Agribusiness* noted that during a press conference at the Michigan Farm Bureau meeting in late November 1976, "Bergland stressed that he would not differ greatly in most policy areas from former secretary Earl Butz."



Photo by UPI

Agriculture secretary-nominee Bob Bergland testifying before the Senate Agriculture Committee, headed by Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge (on right).

Stokely Van Camp and International Minerals and Chemicals before becoming Secretary of Agriculture. After resigning in disgrace in October, Butz quickly re-entered the corporate world, becoming a director of ConAgra, Inc. in December. The appointment of a new secretary untainted by agribusiness affiliations was a foregone conclusion.

Bog Bergland fits the bill. The son of Norwegian immigrants, he owns a farm in Roseau, Minn., 20 miles from the Manitoba border. The congressman's 600 acres are devoted to small grains and lawn seed. The farm is not large by mid-west standards and, like many family farmers, Bergland has had years when he suffered losses.

► In the liberal camp.

After graduating from the University of Minnesota School of Agriculture in 1948, Bergland became a field representative for the Minnesota Farmers Union, a position he held until 1950, when he began farming in Roseau. The following year, he became secretary of the Roseau County Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and in 1953 served as its chairman.

During much of the 1960s, Bergland worked as the midwest area director of the USDA's Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service. According to the program's deputy director, the job was essentially "political"—the future congressman developed expertise in agricul-

percent of the time. He voted to restrict funds for the Vietnam war and the CIA and has voted against amendments to ban busing for desegregation. He opposed funding of the B-1 bomber, opposed imports of Rhodesian chrome, and voted to override President Ford's veto of the strip-mining bill.

The voting record, however, is not necessarily indicative of who Bob Bergland really is. Log-rolling is a Bergland specialty and he readily admits that he casts many votes to please northern, urban liberals in exchange for their support for his farm legislation.

► New laws likely.

On farm issues, Bergland has compiled a record of support for measures aimed at helping small farmers—including opposition to Butz's nomination as Secretary of Agriculture. As a member of the House Agriculture Committee, Bergland has worked for increases in price supports and aid to rural areas. He has supported increases in food stamp allotments and the replacement of private with federal grain inspectors. Significant in light of recent baby-food scandals, he recently co-sponsored a bill to investigate the "nature, scope and extent of effects of infant formula use in developing nations," and to determine which U.S. corporations are involved and what advertising and promotional techniques they are employing.

The new Secretary of Agriculture has

er Pennsylvania Secretary of Agriculture) to head up Agricultural Marketing or Rural Development." On the other hand, rumored appointments like that of management consultant E.A. Jaenke as Assistant Secretary for International Affairs will indicate a shift to the right.

► Different atmosphere, similar thrust.

Despite whatever good intentions and power Bergland takes with him to the USDA, his actions will be seriously constrained by general economic and political factors. In 1971 the U.S. experienced its first trade deficit of the century. Imports exceeded exports and government expenditures on the war in Vietnam swelled the outward flow of dollars and threatened to bring down the entire international monetary system.

Faced with this crisis, the Nixon administration avidly promoted increased agricultural exports under the philosophical banners of "free trade" and "free market agriculture." By tripling agricultural exports between 1970 and 1974 the country was able to pay increased oil prices and continue its adventures in Southeast Asia.

The importance of agricultural exports still remains and serves as the principal force behind the formulation of domestic farm policy and much of American foreign policy, from detente to the trade and tariff negotiations. Any Secretary of Agriculture, whether Butz or Bergland,

Bergland and Carter both recognize the role agriculture has to play. In a speech before Congress in October, Bergland pointed out approvingly that "Carter supports a full production agriculture as necessary to compete on world markets. In fact, he would work hard to expand foreign markets into new geographical areas and for new crops."

Providing more security for U.S. farmers through increased price support levels would help keep farmers afloat in years of low international prices while helping to guarantee abundant supplies for export. And while Bergland is reluctant to support internationally-held grain reserves, fearing a loss of U.S. control over them, he endorses government-supported farmer-held reserves to help moderate the price swings dangerous to both farmers and consumers. New and more liberal domestic farm programs such as these may have become necessary to insure the plentiful supplies for export on which the U.S. continues to be dependent.

Bergland, a popular, unassuming farmer/politician, will bring fresh air to the USDA. The atmosphere will differ markedly from the Butz days. Many domestic policies will surely change, but the thrust and direction of American agriculture and its place in the world may be little disturbed in the process. ■

Cary Fowler is co-director of the Agricultural Resources Center in Chapel Hill, N.C.

Food stamp blues hit Congress

By Jeff Kirsch

What's that about food stamps? It was amazing. I started to believe what Agnew had said about the press. Editorials, analyses, news pieces...linking to the food stamp program to all that's bad in the American character. From first hand experience I knew that it wasn't true, but why lie?

The public, of course, needed little reason to believe anything critical of the food stamp program. So when legislation was introduced in the Senate in June 1975 to cut over 10 million people from the program, it picked up a considerable amount of press and support.

In reality, the legislation and the media campaign were only parts of a carefully run campaign, spearheaded by (now former) Sen. James Buckley (c/D-N.Y.) and orchestrated by Ronald Reagan's former welfare director in California.

The fever grew and a hostile press continued to plague those honestly trying to improve the food stamp program—turning them instead to efforts to keep it from being totally destroyed in the new hysteria.

The food stamp program had problems, certainly. There were errors; there was too much red tape; too many of the poor were excluded by administrative hassles and an inability to pay the purchase requirement.

►Not a "middle class" ripoff.

But, by no means had the program become a "middle class" ripoff of the public purse. Both the House Agriculture Committee and the Agriculture Department itself had revealed that most food stamp households were poor—a majority with gross incomes under \$3,420 a year and 95 percent with gross incomes under \$7,500.

True, the program had grown phenomenally, but most of that growth came with the economic hard times. It wasn't a program out of control; it was a program doing the job for which it was intended.

Last year's effort to "reform" the

food stamp program, largely by gutting its value to poor working households, was beaten back by a strange coalition, led in the Senate, for instance, by Senators Robert Dole (R-Kan.) and George McGovern (D-S.D.) and their Senate Select Committee on Nutrition. Likewise, President Ford's efforts to bypass Congress and implement cutbacks by executive fiat has been knocked down in federal court.

►New year, new Congress.

But it is a new year and once again Congress is on the case. The situation, however, is different this year and there is a chance that the food stamp program may actually be improved through legislative action.

First, the administration has changed. Agriculture secretary-designate Bob Bergland was a progressive force for food stamp reform in the House last year and there is every reason to anticipate a reasonable posture on legislative reform from his office. Certainly, a Carter administration is less likely to push for the severe cutbacks that Ford sought.

Last year the program was a symbol. Because of its visibility and vulnerability it was singled out for attack. Although the effort was beaten back it seriously damaged the public's perception of the program and the needs of those it serves.

Second, the media campaign to discredit the program has not been as evident over the last few months.

Third, it is not an election year so members of Congress are not as vulnerable to public and media attacks.

Fourth, the number of people receiving food stamps has dropped significantly—from a high of 19.4 million in May 1975 to 17 million last October. The cost has dropped correspondingly. There's not the sense of panic that existed last year. It's clearer that the program worked as it should and that it did not get "out of control."

Fifth and finally, the food stamp pro-

gram will be considered with the farm bill this year. In the past when farm and food stamps have been considered together, food stamp recipients have come out fairly well. Trade offs are more easily made between urban congressmen supporting certain farm provisions in return for the votes of farm states legislators on progressive food stamp provisions.

►Getting rid of purchase requirement.

There is one key reform for the anti-hunger advocates: elimination of the need for food stamp recipients to pay out large sums of their own money to buy their stamp allotment (the purchase price requirement). This provision, advocates point out, excludes millions of the poorest of the poor from receiving help.

Senators Dole and McGovern introduced legislation last year to eliminate the purchase requirement and they plan to push the idea again in the new Congress. Sen. Brooke (D-Mass.) has also introduced legislation for this purpose.

Failing to win the elimination of the purchase requirement, an important step for overall welfare reform, the progres-

sive forces will concentrate on preventing cutbacks, improving program operation and raising benefit levels.

►Backers also weaker in ways.

Of course, there are some ways in which food stamp backers are in a weaker situation. In the Senate, there is a good chance that the Senate Nutrition Committee, the major bulwark of the anti-hunger forces, will be a victim of a Senate reorganization drive.

In the House, Bergland's elevation to Agriculture secretary will weaken the progressive forces on the House Agriculture Committee. Bergland was a coordi-

Food & Land



nating force for liberal and moderate elements on the committee in fighting the food stamp battle last year. The committee has also lost four other members who generally were favorable to the program, leaving chairman Thomas Foley (D-Wash.), himself a supporter of the program, with a very questionable majority when it comes to food stamp issues.

The conservatives in both the House and the Senate will be out to save money by lowering eligibility levels, limiting the participation of unemployed or laid off workers and the short-term poor and generally restricting the program to only the destitute.

Last year the food stamp program was a symbol. Because of its visibility and vulnerability it was singled out for attack by conservatives and by a president who needed conservative support to win his party's nomination. Although the effort was substantially unsuccessful, it seriously damaged the public's perception of the character of the program and the needs of the millions of poor and near-poor Americans it serves.

This year the cards may not be so stacked against the program and its supporters, but there is no denying that it will be an uphill battle to overcome the misperceptions and distortions of the last year and a half. No one would say that food stamps are the solution to hunger and want in America, but there is also no denying that they make a real difference to millions of needy citizens. ■

Jeff Kirsch is a staff member of the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), a Washington-based anti-hunger law firm and advocacy center.

Carter's farm policy—to support or not to support

By Sarah James
Washington Bureau

Washington. No one is expecting any big changes in farm legislation as the Congress considers renewal of the government's basic farm bill, the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, which expires at the end of this year. Sen. Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee is expected to introduce a replacement bill that differs only slightly from the present one.

There may be some fight over the period covered by the bill, though. Talmadge wants new legislation to remain in effect for five years, while Washington sources say that President-elect Carter would prefer a one-year bill that would allow his administration to propose substantive changes.

While there may not be much conflict over the provisions of the new farm bill, there is considerable controversy over farm policy. Present, and presumably future, legislation is broad and leaves much to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. This discretionary power allowed Earl Butz, secretary under Nixon and Ford, to drastically change agriculture policy from government subsidy and support for farmers to a market orientation stressing exports and increased production.

►Lots of vested interests.

The battle over agriculture policies in-

volves a wide range of vested interests, including small farmers, large agribusiness, grain operators, consumers and even opposing factions within the Agriculture Department. Farmers are generally split along lines that follow the size of their farm, the extent of their export contacts and their crop. These differences are also reflected in the three major farmer organizations.

The largest, and most conservative, is the American Farm Bureau. With over 2.5 million members, the AFB is dominated by the larger, more successful farmers. The other two, the National Farmers Union and the National Farmers Organization are smaller, both in membership and in the size of the farms they represent.

Generally speaking, the AFB favors the least possible government influence in the food market, while the NFO and the NFU call for greater government support.

One example of government support opposed by the AFB is the Commodity Credit Corporation, which loans farmers money on their crops, allowing them to withhold goods from the market in periods of low prices. The AFB argues that if the loan rates are raised, as has been proposed, farmers will not repay the loans, leaving the government with the crops. "Whatever goes into the hands of the government has to go out eventually," says Bob Donnelly of AFB. "The CCC does use the stockpiles to depress prices. The AFB believes the only way to avoid

this is to have lower price supports."

►Loans tied to costs.

Talmadge's proposed farm bill would change current policy and tie commodity loans to the actual costs of production; something that many small farmers see as necessary to their survival.

Those in favor of increased government support point out that without such "interference" in the market, many small farms will go bankrupt in coming years. Smaller farmers, they say, are less able to resist wildly fluctuating prices and need a relatively stable market to survive.

The National Farmers Organization argued in a statement of recommendations to the Senate Agriculture committee that since farm exports now account for over half of the foreign exchange needed to import oil, the entire population should share in the risks, as well as the benefits, of increased international trade. "In the absence of a stronger price support program, our government is placing an unfair burden of risk on American farmers when it calls for all-out production," the NFO said.

►NFU wants broad changes.

The National Farmers Union takes a different tack, arguing for broad changes in American farm policy. "Farm policy today must be redefined as farm and food policy.... What we do in the U.S. about farm and food policy may be as decisive as anything else ... in determining whether human civilization can surmount the crisis of population growth, of environ-

ment deterioration and social and political adjustment to industrialization and urbanization," the NFU said in a recent statement.

The NFU wants a policy geared to "Management of demand" for food rather than control of the food supply. "It is important," they say, "to recognize that demand for food rather than the supply of food is the real measure and arbiter of the adequacy of human nutrition." To make this policy possible they ask for national and international food reserves, protection against risks for farmers, increased aid to the poor at home and more food and economic aid to developing countries.

Ruth Kobell, legislative assistant for the NFU concedes that there is little chance that the NFU point of view will prevail this year. But Secretary-designate Bergland, a member of the NFU, is expected to lean toward farm supports. Clifford Ouse, Bergland's legislative aide for agriculture, who will probably accompany his boss to the Agriculture department, points out that "Farm debt is at an all time high. Farmers aren't in good shape. The only thing that has saved agriculture is the inflated value of land, which has allowed them to borrow more money. If a farmer has been lucky with crops, he's o.k., but now if you miss one crop, it will take a long time to catch up."

Ouse wouldn't be specific about Bergland's farm policy. "I don't know how fast action will be taken, but I do hope there will be rising price supports. We will have to be slow and deliberate." ■



New Englanders fight food dependency

Three-quarters of New England's food needs come from outside the area.

By Michael Scully

It was August. The roadside stand of a small New England farmer was shut down by the protest of a large supermarket on a zoning technicality. The supermarket was still selling California produce imported from 3,000 miles across the country. The farmer's fresh produce was grown in the same town, was being sold at lower prices and was attracting all the customers.

Local citizens went to the supermarket manager and suggested that at least he stock the produce of local farmers in season. The manager responded that his contract with Teamster truckers required year 'round patronage. They could cut him off at any time for violation, he said.

Only 30 years ago, some 35,000 farms in Massachusetts provided most of that state's food needs. Today only 6,000 farms remain. As post-war industrial investors flooded the region, speculative land values and resultingly higher taxes hit the small farmer hardest. Costs for energy, fertilizer and feed grain soared as control of those resources became more concentrated in monopolistic corporations. The price paid for farm goods began to be more and more determined by nationally-centralized buyers, and less determined by the actual costs of producing food. It all proved unbearable for Massachusetts farmers, and for thousands of others throughout the region.

Today, fully three quarters of New England's food needs, formerly supplied by local farmers, is imported from outside the region, mostly from California where 45 huge corporations control nearly two-thirds of the state's farm land. Urban consumers suffer as a result, paying the country's highest food prices—10 to 15 percent above national average in Boston.

"This high degree of dependency...can result in food emergencies whenever the usual pattern of distribution is disrupted," warns the Massachusetts Governor's Emergency Food Commission. Only a week's food supply is on hand at any given time in Boston.

Reversing or at least reducing the decline of native agriculture and the increasing dependence on outside sources has become a priority for New England leaders concerned with food and agriculture and several states are actively taking steps to change the situation.

"Our redevelopment of local agriculture is not an exercise in nostalgia, but is of economic necessity," says Massachusetts' agriculture commissioner Frederic Winthrop Jr. Through his leadership, Massachusetts is the first state in the country to adopt its own food and agriculture policy. Drafted with the input of farmers and consumers as well as public officials, the food policy outlines a plan of action for greater area food self-sufficiency through local control and redevelopment of local resources. In Vermont, which will soon be the second state to adopt an independent food policy, people call it "LIFE"—locally integrated food economy.

Maine, Connecticut and neighboring Pennsylvania are also initiating major farm promotion programs, and the states are beginning to seek cooperation with one another on a regional basis as well.

Nor is New England agriculture just a rural concern. "Urban folks have a critical stake in building ties with area farmers," says inner-city state Rep. Mel King (Boston), who is pushing greater urban awareness of agriculture and related rural concerns. "The city's long range food security may well depend upon the redevelopment of regional agriculture as a healthy industry, and an economic alternative."

At the current rate of conversion of farm lands to other uses, Massachusetts could lose virtually all of its remaining farmland by 1985. But enough farm land is left, to substantially rebuild its in-



Thirty years ago, Massachusetts had 35,000 farms; today there are 6,000. At the current rate of conversion of farm land to other uses, the state will lose all its farm land by 1985.

ternal food economy. The problem is economic, particularly high tax rates.

Many states already have some form of tax law that protects farm lands from being taxed at the higher industrial assessment rates. But this alone has not halted the rapid conversion of farm land to industrial, residential or other uses.

"Public purchase of my land development rights is the only way I can hold onto my farm," observes a Connecticut farmer, his eyes rolling across the pastures that were his grandfather's. "I wouldn't have to sell out the land to speculators to get my retirement money, and would have immediate cash for the farm operation as long as I'm here."

Public purchase of farm land development rights is emerging in at least five northeast states with the support of farmers. Under the plan, the public pays farmers the difference between a tract's higher potential development value and its lower base agricultural value. The contract is a voluntary one for individual farmers who still retain legal title and rights—except for the right to develop the land for nonfarm purposes.

Then the land could not be taxed at anything but actual farm value because the development right would be eliminated. The general public, in turn, would have contracted for a more secure local food source with the farmer who wants to keep farming. The farmer can still sell the agricultural title to his land or have someone else farm it, but the land will remain in food production.

Many more young people, families and cooperative households who want to get into farming might be able to do so under the plan. Those previously lacking enough money to buy farms would now be paying only the base price when buying farm land.

Idle public lands owned by state agencies have also been opened for cultivation to the general public in Massachusetts. Some 50 Massachusetts cities and towns also run programs on municipal lands.

"We created several paying summer jobs here that wouldn't have existed otherwise," says Sandy Matathia who organizes his dormitory into a farm co-operative on state university land in rural Amherst. "We sold the produce to the

cafeteria as we harvested, which was served to students at meals." The farm co-op wants to expand next year by revitalizing a fallowing orchard on campus.

Hundreds of neighborhood kids showed up to spread the tons of topsoil one recent Saturday morning over five new farm sites—all vacant lots—in Boston's multiracial South End.

A group of citizens had secured the topsoil from a nearby state excavation, obtained use of the city-owned vacant lots, then arranged for the state national guard to truck the topsoil to the sites. Planting was underway in a week. Those who had no tools improvised. People who never realized their gardening skills were suddenly growing as much as \$500 worth of food on 20x30-foot plots. The previously garbage-strewn lots are now attractive green living spaces in the South End, economically productive to those who live there.

As basic food production is expanded on local farm lands of all types, storage and support services have had to be developed to extend seasonal supplies of local-grown foods and to extend jobs created around them.

A group of women in Northampton, Mass., decided last spring that what the farmers and gardeners of Hampshire county needed was a community canning center. They obtained a \$43,000 grant from a state agency and set up the public canning facility inside the county courthouse. Area farmers and gardeners made great use of the service, which remained in operation until December. They plan to do it again this year.

Women in Agriculture, the group that organized the center, is an offshoot of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women that decided to deal with the economic development of women within New England's overall redevelopment of agriculture. "We're out to open farm training and process-apprenticeship to females of all ages," explains Pat Sackrey. "Women should have options beyond traditionally exclusive roles as farmwives."

Not least among the support services needed to develop a regional agriculture is the need for locally produced organic fertilizer. The turning of metropolitan

Boston's 80,000 annual tons of sewage into marketable fertilizer is sought by leading legislators. Massachusetts environment secretary Evelyn Murphy has appointed a commission to press for the agricultural use of manure from a horse track, as well as the use of other institutional "wastes." Such moves are seen as critical in alleviating dependence upon imported petroleum-based fertilizers.

Getting the multi-billion dollar regional consumer market to give preference to local foods will be a decisive factor needed to stabilize and expand the regional food infrastructure.

Public institutions and schools everywhere spend millions of dollars on food consumption. Exploring and negotiating ways to get them to give preference to locally grown foods is a task force made up of farmers, consumers, and state officials. Appointed by Winthrop, this is one of a series of task forces trying to bring more popular participation to the state department of agriculture.

Other efforts are addressed at expanding direct sales from local farmers to local consumers—eliminating middlemen and cutting energy costs. With more domestic marketing of local foods both farm and consumer prices would be more directly related to actual production costs. Some 60 percent of every American consumer dollar at present goes to middlemen.

Pennsylvania's Secretary of Agriculture says that if at least 20 percent of Pennsylvania's consumer food purchases were directly from state farmers, it would be competitive enough to force supermarket prices down. To achieve this goal he supports the development of urban consumer food co-ops, which are more likely to patronize local farmers.

Mel King smiles sometimes when he talks of the great potentials of agriculture in his part of the country. "We may never be completely self-sufficient in food, but it is to the degree that we move in that direction that farmers, consumers and urban folks alike can realize greater food security and economic health."

Michael Scully is a policy assistant in the Massachusetts legislature, and works with food, agriculture, and land-use issues. He is also a seasonal farmer.

Labor to demand job security in '77 talks

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

"Security is the issue this time," William Winpisinger, general vice president of the International Association of Machinists, recently told the *Wall Street Journal*. "Now is the time to launch the drive for a shorter work week. It will take a decade to bring to fruition."

In the wake of plant closings and continued high unemployment, major labor unions are placing job security at the top of their bargaining agendas for the coming year. Contracts covering some 5 million workers will expire in 1977, many in

Unions are expected to downplay large wage increases as most of the major contracts already have cost of living clauses, in favor of provisions for job security and shorter workweeks. The picture is also clouded by bitter internal fights in the Steelworkers and Mineworkers unions.

such pivotal industries as steel, coal mining, construction, communication and longshore.

Unions are expected to downplay large wage increases as most of these contracts already include cost of living clauses. In the year's first major settlement, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) settled for only a moderate wage boost—18 percent over two years—from the Gulf Oil Co.

The 1976 contract between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Ford Motor Co. provides inspiration for job security demands. It provided for eight additional days off and has been interpreted by labor leaders and their corporate counterparts as a step towards a four-day work week, thereby opening up new job opportunities. But few union leaders in other industries so far have described the specifics of what they will demand by way of "job saving" contract provisions.

► **Steelworkers seeking lifetime job security.** The steel negotiations that begin in February may flesh out labor's approach to this issue. The United Steel Workers, which represents about 365,000 workers in basic steel, has named lifetime job security with a guaranteed annual wage as a prime bargaining demand. The union's wage and policy committee also hopes to increase job opportunities "by negotiating a shorter workweek without reduction in pay, accompanied by programs such as extended vacation plans that result in a shorter work year."

The steel negotiations will be influenced by the bitter battle for USW president now being waged between Ed Sadlowski, dissident director of the union's Chicago district, and Lloyd McBride, favorite son of the union's "official family."

If Sadlowski wins the February election, retiring USW president I.W. Abel has threatened to resign immediately and dump the negotiating burden onto Sadlowski's shoulders. The steel companies fear that a Sadlowski victory will strengthen rank and file initiative in the union—the largest in the AFL-CIO with 1.4 million members—and generate local strikes around the country.

A nationwide steel strike is legally impossible, however, since negotiations will be conducted, as in 1973, under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. While the contract runs until Aug. 1, any unresolved issues will be submitted to binding arbitration in mid-April.

► **Security an issue in construction, communication.** Job security will also be raised by unions that have been struck hard by layoffs, automation and foreign imports. Unemployment remains so high in the construction industry—30 percent in some cities—that building trades workers have accepted hefty pay cuts during the recession. Observers speculate that the industry may be revived by Carter's public works program and by passage of the Common Site Picketing bill—vetoed by Ford a year ago and expected to pass in the next Congress. Common Site picketing would greatly increase the unions' power over non-union contractors. This spring, 2,500 contracts covering 700,000 construction workers will expire.

In the communication industry, increasing automation has wiped out many jobs and pushed unions to integrate job security into their economic demands in upcoming contract talks. "There's a very strong feeling among our members about job security. The frustration out there is incredible," says Glenn Watts, president of the Communication Workers of America (CWA). The CWA is the principle bargaining agent for 700,000 telephone workers whose contracts run out in August.

► **Leadership fight in Mineworkers.**

The United Mine Workers, representing 180,000 coal miners whose contracts expire in December, will also seek a measure of job security through more paid days off. As in the steel industry, contract negotiations in coal will be affected by a divisive election contest in the union.

In the last year, former supporters of UMW reform president Arnold Miller have accused him of financial mismanagement, harassment of staff members, ineffective political lobbying, and "absolute, incredible paranoia." Intense competition has developed between Miller and his chief lieutenants, Harry Patrick and Mike Trbovich, to the point where they may run against him in a special June election.

Dissension in the Miller administration may result in the conservative remnants of Tony Boyle regaining their hold on union policies. Lee Roy Patterson, an old Boyle supporter from Kentucky, stands a good chance of becoming the next UMW president. If the outcome is close, the losers may appeal to the Labor Department and delay a final decision on who will represent miners at the bargaining table.

The coal outlook is further clouded by the rank and file's demand for a local right to strike clause in the 1977 contract. Company violations of the last contract ignited several major wildcat strikes in 1975-76. At its September convention, the local right to strike was adopted as part of the union's bargaining package. UMW leaders—whoever assumes power—will be under pressure to make good on this crucial issue.

All sides expect a bitter coal strike next winter, an action that could quickly crimp an "expanding" economy and severely strain Carter's "pro-labor" sentiments. The UMW has recently been advising its members to take various legal actions to stop stockpiling by the coal companies in anticipation of a strike.

► **Business optimistic.**

While the unions shuffle in the direction of job security, business representatives predict a sunny negotiating climate. Numerous factors may disrupt this optimistic projection. A year ago *Business Week* confidently heralded 1976 as "Labor's Year of Compromise." Instead, corporate interests witnessed a four-month rubber strike, wildcats in the coal fields, and a tentative step towards a short work week. Corporations will surely keep their crystal balls working overtime in 1977, even if their employees refuse to do the same.



Photo by Cindy Hart/LNS

Cincinatti steelworker.

Sadlowski and McBride trade money charges

Campaign money has become one of the hot issues in the contest for Steelworkers president between Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent candidate, and Lloyd McBride, the choice of the outgoing Abel administration. Last week both men disclosed who has given them money, temporarily settling part of the controversy but stirring up other parts.

McBride had accused Sadlowski of receiving outside money from "limousine liberals" and, in alleged violation of the union constitution, from employers.

In turn, Sadlowski portrayed McBride as depending entirely on contributions "dunned" from the staff.

Both George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and A. Philip Randolph former vice-president of the AFL-CIO and prominent black union leader, joined the chorus of attack against Sadlowski by the conservative labor establishment. Meany said fund-raising by Sadlowski, who was not named, was "illegal" and "unethical." He criticized three Sadlowski supporters, economist John Kenneth Gailbraith, lawyer Joseph Rauh and former UAW official Victor Reuther as outsiders who "have also engaged in unrestrained attacks on the present officers of the union and on the AFL-CIO."

McBride's disclosure of financial support, which was part of the requirements of a lawsuit he brought against Sadlowski in December, showed that 447 of the 577 contributors to his campaign were Steelworkers staff. Most field representatives contributed \$500 and department heads gave \$1,000.

Outsiders also contributed substantially to his campaign. Top officials of the AFL-CIO, the Clothing and Textile union and the Ladies Garment union contributed sizeable amounts. Also, people very much like the "employers" named in the suit against Sadlowski have contributed to McBride, including \$1,000 drawn from the "business account" of a law firm that does substantial legal work for the union in McBride's home district.

McBride has raised \$182,304 so far. Sadlowski said earlier in the week that he has raised \$150,000 and spent \$207,000

in addition to contributions of time by steelworkers valued at \$426,000.

Sadlowski contended that only \$31,000 had come from outside sources, all but \$5,000 of that from contributions over \$500. The largest contribution was \$5,000. Several others were over \$1,000, some apparently from prominent liberal Democrats. McBride's charge of contributions from employers was a "total distortion and a lie," Sadlowski said. "We've never taken one penny of corporate money during this campaign."

Although the accusations of employer contributions could establish the basis for a legal challenge by McBride under the Landrum-Griffin Act if Sadlowski wins, the issue is clearly a political weapon at this time a few weeks before the Feb. 8 election. However, Sadlowski supporters claim that steelworkers do not take it seriously and suggest that the contretemps may backfire on McBride.

Revelation of the contributors to both sides and the increasing attacks by AFL-CIO leaders lend support to the notion that an important issue for contributors to both men is the influence of the Steelworkers and the AFL-CIO within the Democratic party. AFL-CIO leaders appear anxious to stop Sadlowski from pushing the "house of labor" to the left side of the Democrats.

Another controversy has flared up around McBride's circulation of a quotation taken from a rambling Sadlowski interview in the January *Penthouse*. In the quotation, Sadlowski appears to favor technological improvements that would bring a reduction of the steel labor force. At times Sadlowski has suggested that in the long run technology will displace labor. However, he has consistently argued against any cut in the workforce in the short run. "It is high time that workers become the beneficiaries of technological change" through a shorter work week, earlier retirement and preservation of steelworker jobs, Sadlowski said in response to McBride's use of the *Penthouse* quotation.

—David Moberg

INSHORT

Seven days begins publication

On Jan. 10, there will be a new alternative to the likes of *Time* and *Newsweek*. *Seven Days*, billed as America's "first mass distribution, alternative magazine" will begin biweekly publication on that date, with plans for weekly publication in the future. *Seven Days'* editors say that, while designed on the *Time/Newsweek* magazine format, they are publishing in the antiestablishment tradition. They pledge to publish news unencumbered by constraints from corporate advertisers—*Seven Days* accepts no commercial advertising—and will report major news events from an "opposition" perspective.

Founding member Dave Dellinger says, "We do not believe that a news magazine can be really free if, like *Time* and *Newsweek*, it is owned by a huge corporation that is dedicated to profit and dependent upon advertising revenues from other large corporations. The arrival in New York of publisher Rupert Murdoch with his pot of gold is only the latest indication of the connection between the news Americans read and the financial interests through which it is filtered."

Seven Days will be sold by subscription and on newsstands.

Co-op City gets extension

The residents of the Co-Op City housing development in the Bronx section of New York City apparently has received at least a four-month extension of the experimental attempt at self-management they won after a 13-month rent strike. (See *In These Times*, Nov. 15, 1976).

The *New York Times* reports that the 15,000 unit complex still owes the state \$10 million, is \$4 to \$6 million behind in city real estate taxes, and has some 500 units still vacant.

At the same time, leaders of the project's tenant-management group say they have completed or are developing plans—including new arrangements for running project services, the conversion of unused space to commercial purposes, and an upgrading of the project's heating and air-conditioning plant into energy producing plant—that would cut costs and increase revenues sufficiently to get the project out of the red. They also say that they have caught up with more than a year's worth of maintenance and upgrading necessary in the wake of the tenant strike.

Freedom means amnesty

When President Ford handed out Medals of Freedom in one of his last televised appearances in the Oval Room, one of the recipients was missing.

Ladybird Johnson was there to get hers; General Omar Bradley was there (in wheel chair). So was retiring Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller. But there was no one to collect the medal awarded posthumously to sculptor Alexander Calder who died this past November (*ITT*, Nov. 22).

Louise Calder, the artist's widow, was quoted as saying that the family could not "exactly refuse the honor," but she sent the president a telegram saying that "Freedom should be for everyone, and freedom means total amnesty."

Both Louis and Alexander Calder were consistent supporters of organizations protesting the Vietnam war while it was going on, and of all efforts to win amnesty in its aftermath.

Errata: In last week's issue several bylines were omitted or in error, and photo credits were missing.

•On page 21, the article entitled "Do union workers gain at others' expense?" was written by Martin J. Sklar.

•On page 19, the review entitled "ABC airs *Roots* in eight-part series" was incorrectly attributed to Alice Allgaier.

•On page 9, the photo of Marin de Burca was by Marc PoKempner.



San Francisco artists, some of whom are funded under the CETA program, take theater and music to the streets.

Photo by Allen Nomura

Public artists under fire in S.F.

By Linda Siskind

San Francisco. City-hired artists here are reeling from charges that they are organized along Communist lines, may be responsible for planting bombs at city supervisors' homes and are not accounted for by their employers at City Hall.

The charges were made by a city supervisor, based partially on an article published Dec. 15 in the Hearst chain's *San Francisco Examiner*. The artists involved are 127 writers, painters, gardeners, dancers, actors and theater technicians employed by the city with federal CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) funds in one of the first and largest neighborhood arts programs of its kind in the country.

The *Examiner* article quotes the San Francisco Arts Commission president as saying that some of the artists under his jurisdiction last year tried to organize along "socialist or leftist" lines and used the words "commissar," "politburo," and "workers' cells." He also said he doesn't know what the artists are doing besides picking up their paychecks.

The day after that was published, the *Examiner* printed a partial retraction when a reporter was reassured by the mayor's office that all CETA workers are well accounted for and the only words mentioned on their organizational chart were "cultural workers" and "cell representatives." "But the words commissar and politburo were not used," on the chart the second article said, "and it would be difficult to construe the diagram as leftist in design."

Nevertheless, two weeks later Supervisor John Barbagelata attempted to hold up the city's use of CETA funds (in effect firing all 2,100 of the city's CETA employees), referring to the CETA artists' alleged organization as "an organization like others involved in terrorist activities. And I got a bomb and two other supervisors got bombs." Barbagelata went on to suggest that the names of all CETA artists be handed over to the police and the FBI. In addition to the 127 city artists, another 210 CETA employees do arts work in San Francisco directly for non-profit corporations.

►CETA workers go to commissioners.

CETA artists went to their supervisors at the Arts Commission Jan. 3 with a prepared statement asking the commission to "vociferously support CETA arts,"

by making statements to the media refuting all the charges, to "investigate the roots of the current crisis in order to insure that it never happen again" and to create a liaison group of commissioners, their staff and some CETA artists.

The commissioners heard a report from a staff member on the "incredible meeting" of the Finance Committee of the Board of Supervisors at which Barbagelata made his charges and repeated those of the original *Examiner* article, listened as the commission president expressed his surprise at the "non sequituous com-

"You are artists...you know that artists have always been social gadflies, and have always been scapegoated by reactionary politicians."

ments of a certain supervisor," and agreed to set up the liaison committee but refused to issue a statement refuting the charges against the artists on the grounds that this would only give the charges more publicity. Instead, they agreed to tell the media they supported the CETA arts program, emphasizing the work that the artists have done in the city.

"We've been called Communists and bomb throwers," one CETA artist cried out from the audience of the Jan. 3 commission meeting, asking once again for the commissioners to defend them more specifically. Again, the commissioners refused.

Without your advocacy, another artist told the commissioners, "we're sitting ducks."

That's what went on in public. In private, CETA artists speculated on the political motivations of their adversaries. Barbagelata, who last year lost a bid to be mayor, is partly just keeping his name in the papers in preparation for the next mayoral election. But possibly more significant is the fact that the supervisors could feel threatened by the artists for the first time because some of them were active against the supervisors in support for Proposition T—the measure approved by San Francisco voters in November that provides for election of the city's supervisors (city council) by district rather than by the city at large. All of the supervisors strongly opposed the proposition and

are now calling for a counter-measure to nullify it, saying the voters didn't know what they were really voting for.

►Possible effort to shift jobs.

Some supervisors have also recently expressed interest in shifting the CETA jobs now allotted to the Arts Commission over to the police department. That would mean jobs for clerical workers, not artists. the CETA program was designed to "provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons." San Francisco was one of the first cities to apply this to the arts.

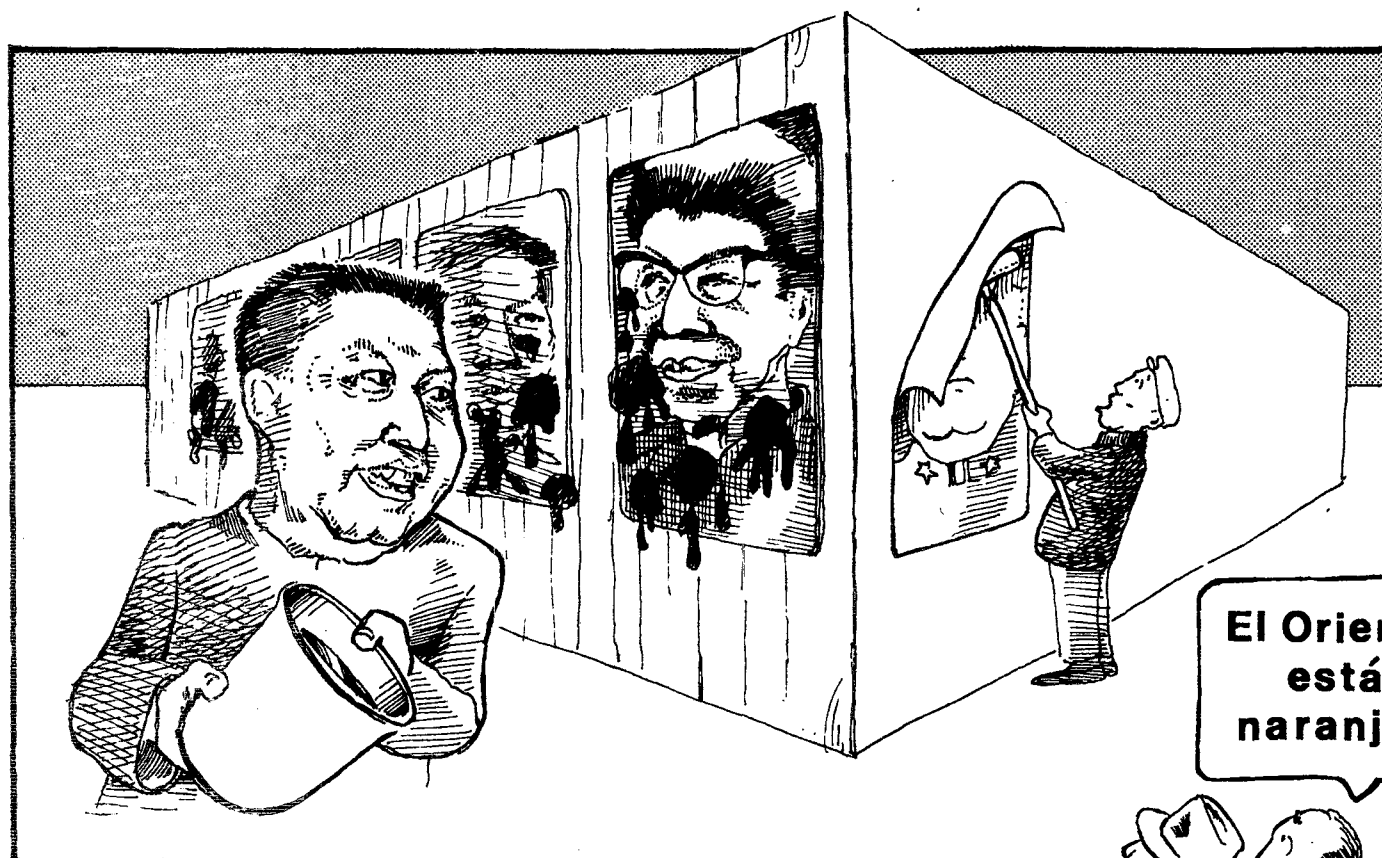
It now looks as though the CETA artists are going to have to fight for their jobs. After the bitter session with Barbagelata, CETA funds were appropriated only through the end of January. It will take another one or two sessions to secure the funding through the end of the current fiscal year this fall. So the artists are concerned that not enough people really know what services they are providing, including the art commissioners. They point with pride to their murals, theater, circuses, etc. in hospitals, prisons, health care and child care centers, public schools, community gardens, churches, radio stations, museums and neighborhood galleries, community cultural centers and to the festivals, workshops and art-related conferences they have organized. And to the fact that CETA artists were the subject of a federally funded and distributed videotape and have been on the cover of the national *Manpower* magazine.

They're also pointing back to the past, when artists bore the brunt of political opportunists—beginning in 1938 with congressional hearings on the Federal Theater Project and Writers' Project.

"Many of you are artists yourselves or have a long association with the arts," CETA artists told the art commissioners. "You know that artists have always been social gadflies, and have always been scapegoated by reactionary politicians. We do not need to remind you of the fate of the WPA (which administered the theater and writing projects) or of the horrors of the McCarthy era. Please help us turn aside Supervisor Barbagelata's attempt to bring a similar ignominy upon San Francisco in 1977."

Linda Siskind is a San Francisco-based freelance writer.

IN THE WORLD



"The East is orange"

China leaders stake future on new industrial strategy

Rank and file may not be ready to cast off a half century's violent and peaceful experience of revolution from below..."

By David Milton

Much of the Western press has described the recent political struggle in China as one between the "theological" supporters of Maoism, represented by the "gang of four," and the common sense oriented party bureaucrats and army officers who want to get on with the job of building a modern nation. But the central issue at stake is not whether, but how, to turn a poor country into a rich one.

Under Mao's leadership, the collective spirit of shared sacrifice played a central role in the task of modernizing the old Chinese semi-feudal order. Apparently, Hua Kuo-feng and his army supporters are now ready to stake a great deal on the bet that the strategy for industrialization traditionally followed by other nations, involving a combination of material rewards and coercion, will work for China now that an industrial base has been laid.

► **Mao followed different road from U.S. or USSR.** Historically, the creation of the modern nation has involved three components: the super-exploitation of one sector of the population by another in order to wring out a surplus for investment; the creation of a vision to enlist the enthusiasm of a people for disciplined work and belief in the future; and the development of technologies to increase production and lighten the longterm burdens of the citizens carrying the load.

The U.S. achieved its success by combining the three processes—mixing slavery and immigration, the Protestant Ethic and invention. The Soviet Union wrung savings out of its peasant majority, enlisted a minority as vanguard crusaders behind a utopian vision, and established a cult of science.

China, unlike either the U.S. or the Soviet Union, entered the modern world with a huge population confined to a limited amount of arable land. Mao, who led the greatest peasant revolution in history,

did not consider the super-exploitation of the very people who had made the revolution a viable alternative. He created a unique model of development embracing the two elements of will and science.

Mao understood that China's cities could never absorb the country's vast peasantry, as had happened in the Soviet Union, England and the U.S. China is also too large and not structurally suited to forge a Japanese-style industrialized paternalism out of an energized feudal elite and a passive peasantry.

Mao followed a different route to the future. China's communes are unique, products of the greatest agrarian revolution the world has ever seen. Mao consistently fought to see that the terms of trade between city and country favored the peasantry.

► **The spectre of a Chinese Sao Paulo.**

The new Chinese leaders are experienced, practical and able men who face a much more favorable national situation than Mao faced in the 1950s. Agriculture is thriving, the foundations of science and industry have been laid through a tortuous collective effort. The new leadership have based their strategy of development through material incentives on this foundation. But there is also reason for the leadership, which may not be united behind the new formula for success, to be nervous about a plan to offer the Chinese people a trade-off of money for power.

China has very little surplus to spread around. And a poor bargain may eventually appear as no bargain at all. If by adopting the Western model, China's planners now polarize the city against the country, they will once again have opened the Pandora's box of social revolution.

The nightmare for the Chinese planner must be the spectre of Sao Paulo, Brazil, with its concentric rings of squatters shacks occupied by a displaced peasantry surrounding an affluent metropolis. Sao Paulo could represent the image of a fu-

ture Shanghai. But the Chinese peasant is not the Brazilian peasant.

The Chinese leadership is presently developing a political approach to the new industrial strategy, which has been translated in the official Chinese press in the slogan, "liveliness politically and prosperity economically." A cheerful prognosis of the future (prosperity) is coupled with a pledge to create in 1977 a "lively" campaign to purge radical dissenters and rank and file rebels who are demanding representation at all levels.

The official promise of a new period "where a hundred schools of thought will contend and a hundred flowers bloom" does not appear to include those identified with the left ideology of the 1960s Cultural Revolution. The new leadership is labeling these rebels of the '60s as the "counter-revolutionary rightists" of the '70s.

► **China's Mayor Daley.**

No doubt many of the actions of the Cultural Revolution leaders were ill-advised, dogmatic and muddled. And millions of Chinese are undoubtedly tired of nonsense and false accusations. There is evidence that many Chinese citizens are happy to see those who have so energetically villified others now feeling the sting themselves.

On the other hand, the Chinese rank and file, thanks to Mao, are now more sophisticated than many Western observers are willing to grant. Chinese working people may welcome fewer study sessions devoted to hastily launched and ideologically garbled campaigns; and they may look forward to new books and some lively and humorous theater. But they may not be ready to cast out a half-century of violent and peaceful political experience, led by Mao—an experience summed up in the phrase, "revolution from below."

It would also be foolish to deny that many ordinary Chinese Communists share a begrudging respect, if not love, for the tough old party veteran, Teng Hsiao-p'ing,

who is now making his third remarkable political comeback in the past 10 years. Teng is a Chinese version of Chicago's Mayor Daley. The party-army network that he established has proven to be relatively indestructible over time.

Teng and his tough efficient problem-solving approach to life and politics stands as a symbol of the new style emanating from the Chinese leadership. Teng was excoriated during the Cultural Revolution for his pragmatic approach to the increase of private plots during the early '60s. Teng's approach was expressed in his saying, "Black cats or white cats, as long as they catch mice, it's all right." The newest joke making the rounds in Peking goes, "Black cats or white cats, as long as they have nine lives."

But China's workers will undoubtedly keep a sharp eye on Teng. In 1974, Mao demanded and won the insertion of the right to strike in the 1974 constitution enacted by the 4th People's Congress. It will bear watching whether Teng and the new leadership move to abrogate this right.

► **Rough miles ahead.**

There are still some rough miles ahead in China's long march toward the goal of becoming an advanced and great world power. There are still 250 million people in the cities and 600 million in the countryside. The recent North China earthquake wreaked 750,000 casualties and destroyed a major industrial center. It seems that production at the Chinese Taching oil field has peaked and the CIA has recently cut in half its estimate of potential Chinese oil exports in the 1980s.

In the immediate future, the Chinese leadership will also find themselves shackled by severe budget restraints. China's military needs will pose a central problem here.

Mao himself purged the political leftists in the Army when his successor Lin Biao and 40 other top generals refused to support inviting Nixon to visit China. The price Mao paid was the emergence of a conservative army.

Will the army, as its price for acting as kingmakers of the civilian regime, now demand a greater piece of the restricted state budget for new planes and modern tanks? Or will the generals stay with Mao's practical and inexpensive deterrent of the bomb plus a vast people's militia? If the Soviet Union decides to withdraw some of its 45 divisions from China's frontier, China's leaders might be tempted to divert their savings to better uses.

The Carter administration appears to be turning toward Europe and adopting a China policy of benign neglect. Perhaps the pragmatists in Peking will then weary of the futile attempt to manipulate the contradictions between the superpowers and turn their attention inward to more rewarding tasks at home. Who then would begrudge the thrifty Chinese the right to purchase a few industrial plants and some new technology on the world market?

► **The yin and the yang.**

China's energetic and hardworking people are known for their down-to-earth practicality. Undoubtedly, they want to get on with the job of completing the revolution they began a half-century ago.

The Chinese loved the two great leaders history gave them: they loved Mao for his vision and Chou En-Lai for his administrative genius and polished work style. It has been said that these two men were the yin and the yang of the Chinese revolution.

If the new regime now opts for all administration and no vision, China will have lost the magic combination that has carried the country victoriously through every trial and hardship for over three decades.

David Milton is co-author with Nancy Milton of *The Wind Will Not Subside* (Pantheon) and is a co-editor of *People's China*. He lived in China from 1964 to 1969.

Diana Johnstone

Easily France's worst newspaper and one of the worst in the world

Le Parisien Libere is easily the worst newspaper in France, and one of the worst in the world. Its owner, Emilien Amaury, got it going just after the liberation—hence its name, the “liberated Parisian.” Over the years he has “liberated” it increasingly from news, from facts, and from journalists. In March 1975 he undertook to liberate it from its printers, who began a strike that was to last 21 months and shut down every newspaper in Paris—except the *Parisien Libere*—a dozen times.

The strike has been no joke for the 400 printers who to this day are without jobs or unemployment compensation, but it has sometimes had an air of tragic farce.

The French Federation of Book Workers (FFTL) or printers' union, known as the Sydicat du Livre, belongs to the Communist-oriented General Confederation of Labor (CGT). It is more like certain British or American trade unions than like other French unions in that it has long enjoyed a closed shop and complete control of hiring. This is unusual in France, where in most workplaces employees have a choice of joining any one or none of several unions, mostly belonging to one of three confederations—the CGT, the Confederation Francaise Democratique du Travail (CFDT) or the Force Ouvriere (FO).

The strong corporatist position of the printers' union stemmed in large part from the relative technological stability of printing over a long period. New photo offset techniques have changed that and have given newspaper owners their chance to try to break the powerful printers' unions, whether in the highly sophisticated manner of the *Washington Post* or the crude manner of Amaury's *Parisien Libere*.

►If he didn't hire, how could he fire?

The battle had been building up for months when Amaury made his “putsch” of March 3, 1975, shutting down his shop in the rue d'Enghien without giving his printers notice or severance pay. Refusing to negotiate, Amaury took refuge in an argument whose evasive irresponsibility has been the heart of the printers' problem ever since: he claimed he had no obligations toward his 400 printers, since it was not he but the union who had hired them. And he took his tabloid off to Belgium to be printed.

Of course the printers could and did answer, with equal logic, that if Amaury hadn't hired them, he couldn't fire them, and therefore they were still on the job. They took over the abandoned rue d'Enghien shop and demanded negotiations.

But they were faced with the problem of how to bring pressure on an employer who didn't want them to work for him but rather wanted to get rid of them. This is the dilemma characteristic of the current “economic crisis,” when a combination of recession, technological innovation and movement of investment capital has left some of the most militant organized labor sectors jobless.

Figuring that other publishers would also benefit from any union-breaking dirty work accomplished by Amaury, the FFTL repeatedly called strikes against the entire Parisian daily press to get the other publishers to put pressure on Amaury to deal with the union. But the only opinion that seems to move Amaury is his own, as expressed in his singularly low-grade newspaper.

►Obsessed with lawless youth.

The front page of an average issue of the *Parisien Libere* is adorned with a set-up photo of “young hoodlums” doing something disgraceful—lawless youth is Amaury's major obsession—topped with a headline (Amaury writes his own headlines—another labor-saving device) demanding “When will this outrage be



Photo by Rosette Coryell

stopped?” Inside, there may be one real news story somewhere and a couple more of “human interest,” or of interest to Amaury, such as the Shah of Iran's public executions, which Amaury appears to admire for their educational effects on youth. The rest is mostly tips on the horse races, interspersed with horoscopes, comics and ads.

On 12 days in less than two years, Amaury's paper has been the only one available in Paris newsstands, thanks to the roundabout strikes against it. This ironic situation has brought particularly heart-rending cries of pain from small, sincere dailies such as *Le Quotidien de Paris* and *Liberation*, which exist basically to enable journalists to write news honestly rather than as money-making propositions and whose shaky finances trembled violently at each loss of a day's sales.

In addition to the strikes against the Paris press, the solidarity of the FFTL membership took the form of regularly sacrificing 10 percent to 15 percent of their wages to support Amaury's abandoned employees.

On the other hand, FO (set up after World War II with secret U.S. aid to oppose the CGT), to hit at the FFTL-CGT monopoly, provided Amaury with workers to print the paper in a new shop in France rather than in Belgium.

►Workers organize “rodeos.”

The only way the striking printers managed to get at Amaury directly was to organize their famous “rodeos,” in which groups of workers in cars would go after a truck bringing freshly printed *Parisien Liberes* into Paris, head it off at the pass, force it to stop and dump its offending newspapers. One night 20,000 copies of the *Parisien* were thus liberated on the peripheral freeway around Paris, causing it to be closed to traffic.

This was not really good for Amaury's business, but he was apparently willing to lose readers to damage the FFTL. To mask his drops in circulation from advertisers, he worked out a scheme (only recently uncovered) to “sell” a large number of phantom newspapers to his favorite anti-abortion group “Let Them Live,” to which he then regularly “donated” an equivalent sum.

Shortly after an AFP journalist, Bernard Cabannes, with the same name as a

member of Amaury's tiny editorial staff, was killed in a mysterious bomb incident in June 1975, never linked by any evidence to the strike, but which aroused conflicting suspicions, the CGT urged the strikers to go easy on “rodeos” that could arouse accusations of violence and to concentrate on winning over public opinion.

This was not so easy either. The printers thought up some attention-getting actions in highly visible places such as the Tour de France bicycle race, Notre Dame Cathedral and the Paris stock exchange—where, unfortunately, a man fell dead of a heart attack the day they made their surprise demonstration, a coincidence that some papers could make to look like cause and effect. The printers seemed jinxed.

The very fact that the printers belonged to the toughest and most corporatist of French unions was a handicap to winning sympathy from sentimentalists. And there were some who found it ludicrous to spread the slogan, “Don't read the *Parisien Libere* until the strike is settled.” As if reading—or printing—that particular newspaper could ever be a desirable activity.

►Printers used to blackout Chirac.

As the months wore on, Paris printers naturally began to lose enthusiasm for sacrificing a hunk of their pay to a seemingly endless conflict. At the same time, Amaury got the courts to pile fine after fine on the union for “rodeo” actions. When a court ruled last Nov. 30 that the strikers should vacate the rue d'Enghien print-shop, most union members wanted nothing more than to find some face-saving way to end the struggle. This only made their indignation greater when, early Sunday morning, Dec. 5, President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's main strategist and Interior Minister, Michel Poniatowski, sent a big police force to throw the workers off the premises they had occupied for a year and nine months.

The unfortunate printers, who had such trouble striking their real target, found themselves being used by “Ponia” in a blow aimed at Giscard's rival, ex-Premier Jacques Chirac—or so it was widely assumed. That Sunday was the day Chirac launched his “Rally For the Republic” (RPR), the new “Gaullist” party seen as a bid to pull the right-wing blanket to his side of the bed, leaving Giscard out in the cold.

Monday's newspapers, which would normally have been full of Chirac, did not appear, because the printers, as they had always vowed to do if the police intervened, shut down the Parisian press for an unlimited general strike (The front page of the *Parisien Libere*, as usual, was devoted to “young hoodlums.”)

If indeed “Ponia” meant to whack Chirac, the blow was considered so low as to boomerang. Most newspapers, once they recovered their voices, blamed the government for having let the situation fester so long by not imposing negotiations, letting strikes weaken all of Paris' better newspapers. Editorialists were suspicious of the government's willingness to let the public depend on government-controlled television for news, and the left suspected the government of letting the independent press be weakened in preparation for a right-wing bid to grab most of the media before the 1978 election campaign. The journalists' unions jointly called a 24-hour solidarity strike out of “awareness that this use of force is just one more episode in the taming of all the media undertaken by the government and the bosses.”

Meanwhile, a hastily-called solidarity demonstration brought out some 70,000 people in Paris and a quarter of a million in the country as a whole, partly because French workers react strongly against seeing police used against fellow workers and also because of widespread concern over unemployment. (Some 50 French firms are being occupied by workers protesting against company plans to go out of business and thus eliminate jobs.)

To stop the strike, the government named jurist Jean-Francois Mottin to meet with the two parties and offer a compromise solution by Jan. 15. For the youth-hating Amaury, Mottin has the indispensable advantage of being over 60 years old. But if the self-proclaimed champion of “law and order” continues to defy the rights of the workers after Jan. 15, there may be still more ricochet-effect surprises in store.

Diana Johnstone is a journalist in Paris.

Editor's note: Since Johnstone filed this column Amaury died in a fall from his horse. One rival newspaper, in reporting the accident, rejoiced that the horse was uninjured in the mishap.

Vietnam's prisoners: human rights at stake?

By Jim Miller

A recent appeal to Dinh Ba Thi, Vietnam's U.N. observer, expressing dismay over alleged political repression in Vietnam, both piqued the interest of the news media and aroused concern within the peace movement in this country. The appeal was signed by Joan Baez, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Daniel Elisberg and a number of others.

The appeal calls for an independent international inspection of the re-education camps in Vietnam, citing reports that as many as 300,000 opponents of the present government are being held, including religious leaders and intellectuals. It asks

Recently, a letter was sent accusing the Vietnamese of political repression. Jim Miller charges that the evidence does not justify the claim.

freedom for individuals detained on purely political or religious grounds and Vietnamese "government recognition of the right to open and free communication..."

U.N. observer Thi responded by calling the charges "groundless accusations." He reported that by early 1976 about 95 percent of the soldiers and officials of the Thieu regime had been restored to full civic rights.

A number of the original signers of the appeal, including Daniel and Philip Berrigan, have also since dissociated themselves from it. The Berrigans say now that they are convinced that the letter had tended to "raise charges in an irresponsible manner" and that until human rights violations are proven "...we should come down with a presumption in favor of the [Vietnamese] government."

►Sources less than persuasive.

There are three principal sources for the current allegations. They must be looked at carefully, one at a time.

•Theodore Jacquenay, a former AID official who quit in 1971 in opposition to the war characterized the re-education centers as "Vietnam's Gulag Archipelago" in a *New York Times* article in September. He pointed to five "Third Force" leaders he knew personally who were in detention, "tormented prey" of the present government.

Unfortunately for Jacquenay's case, the five include a former psychological warfare specialist who trained ARVN officers at the Central School of Psychological Warfare, a training director for Saigon's pacification program, a top level official in a previous Saigon government that arrested the leadership of the first urban-based peace movement, and a rightist leader of the Hoa Hao sect who is charged with organizing armed resistance, sabotage, and robbery. Less is known about the fifth individual.

•Jean Lacouture, a *Le Monde* correspondent and author of several respected books on Vietnam, estimated in a May 1976 article for a French weekly, *Nouvel Observateur*, that 300,000 were being detained for re-education. He assumed that this figure must include large numbers of intellectuals and others since he calculated only 25,000 former officers remained in the country after liberation.

In fact, there are no firm figures for the number of detainees. A Vietnamese official in Ho Chi Minh City has confirmed that at their peak the re-education centers held around 200,000. In a process de-

scribed by Tiziano Terzani, a *Der Spiegel* correspondent, in his book, *Giai Phong! The Fall and Liberation of Saigon*, hundreds of thousands more, mostly common soldiers, went to a few re-education classes while living at home.

But current visitors to Vietnam report that the centers are much shrunken from their peak. Rev. Tran Tam Tinh of Laval University in Quebec writes from south Vietnam that only 10 percent of Thieu's officer corps remains in detention.

D. Gareth Porter, formerly of the Washington-based Indochina Resource Center, questions Lacouture's assumption that the camps must include large numbers of intellectuals. Porter lists, on the basis of official American and Thieu administration statistics, at least 395,000 employees of the Thieu government who were part of the repressive apparatus. It follows that to reach even Lacouture's figure of 300,000 the revolutionary authorities would not necessarily have had to touch non-governmental intellectuals.

•James Forest has charged that considerable repression of religion exists in Vietnam, apparently aimed mainly at Buddhists. He cites the immolation of 12 Buddhist monks and nuns in Can Tho in 1975, the alleged arrest of the Venerable Tri Quang of the An Quang pagoda, and the setting up of a government-controlled Buddhist church. He seems to have gained his information from members of the Vietnamese community in Paris.

A former American Friends Service Committee staffer in South Vietnam, Paul Quinn-Judge, points out, for instance, that the Venerable Mandala, a Buddhist nun who visited Vietnam for two months last fall, reported back that no member of the important An Quang pagoda has been arrested, detained, or restricted in any way.

The state-controlled church mentioned by Forest is actually the Patriotic Buddhist Liaison Committee, which is a liaison between the government and the various Buddhist organizations. The immolations in Can Tho were a serious occurrence, but Buddhist leaders have treated them as a local matter. The Ven. Mandala indicated that a government investigatory committee had been appointed to study the circumstances.

The best evidence of government respect for religious freedom is the absence of repression against Roman Catholicism. The strongest allies of both the French and Americans were usually found among the Catholic minority. And yet the Archbishop of Saigon, Nguyen Van Binh, has appeared in public with Pham Van Dong, the prime minister.

The Archbishop wrote to a Paris newspaper last year that the religious freedom proclaimed by the government "has really been respected. Liturgical ceremonies are going on as before and conversions to Catholicism still take place. We don't deny that in certain provinces some regrettable incidents have occurred from a religious point of view, but these were due to old prejudices against the Church which are still deeply felt by some local headmen."

An argument for the existence of political repression in Vietnam based on these sources is less than persuasive.

But what about the re-education process itself. Is it inherently a violation of human rights?

►Re-education is just that.

At the conclusion of a 30-year fratricidal war that decided the fate of Vietnam, there was no bloodbath, no popular outburst of reprisals against hated officials. A good case could be made that reprisals were avoided precisely because the new authorities had an orderly way of dealing with those who had been the agents of

repression in the old regime. Certainly there is little precedent for the calm of the days following the fall of Thieu. For instance, in France at liberation, after four years of Nazi occupation, the resistance summarily executed over 11,000 collaborators.

There is considerable evidence that the re-education camps are intended for just that, re-education. Terzani, the journalist, for example, in a skeptical article in the *New York Review of Books*, has this to say about a re-education camp he visited: "...I came out with the impression that I had been in a 'model prison' where the inmates were not being punished for their 'crimes'; they were doing manual labor—learning how to become carpenters, blacksmiths, farmers—and had lectures and classes several hours a day..."

American activists Cora and Peter Weiss report similar impressions from a July 1976 visit to a re-education camp at Ben Tre. All agree that the living standards in the camps are low, but still on a par with those of the average Vietnamese. They make no allegations of torture and cite government guidelines that no individual will remain in the camps longer than three years.

All in all, the available evidence indicates that a rational and relatively non-coercive process is being followed to re-integrate a society which had been torn open as have few others in all of human history.

Jim Miller was active in the Indochina Peace Campaign and now in the Friendship Coalition. He visited North Vietnam and Laos in August 1975.

India's CP breaks with Indira Gandhi

By Robert A. Manning

In what may be one of the most important political developments in India since the declaration of national emergency 18 months ago, a rift has developed between the Communist party of India (CPI) and Indira Gandhi's ruling Congress party.

The pro-Moscow CPI had long backed Gandhi's 20-point economic reform (most of which is yet to be implemented) and the political measures of the emergency. At first, when Gandhi imposed the state of emergency in June 1975 charging a "deep and widespread conspiracy" and "threat to internal stability," the CPI had backed the moves against what it called "reactionary elements." The Congress-CPI alliance had been instrumental in aiding the Congress party to override parliamentary opposition.

But the CPI has grown increasingly disenchanted with Mrs. Gandhi's rule as the adornments of parliamentary democracy have been progressively stripped away and as Gandhi and her Congress party have used their increased powers to stymie opposition and consolidate power. With her increased power, Gandhi has had less need for the CPI alliance.

Verbal blows began to step up in the latter part of last year, as the CPI expressed dismay at Gandhi's failure to implement many economic reforms, her ouster of many pro-CPI officials, and the postponement of elections. Perhaps most seriously, it began to criticize Gandhi's 30-year-old son Sanjay Gandhi. Sanjay, whose only official position is head of the revitalized youth wing of the Congress party, became a major political figure since the emergency, amidst charges of dynasty-building.

►CPI demonstrations banned.

The conflict reached a new level in December when Mrs. Gandhi publicly attacked the CPI for the first time since becoming prime minister 11 years ago. The CPI charged that Sanjay was the head of a reactionary caucus in the ruling party, helping to edge out progressives. The CPI alleged that Congress party rightists were seeking to oust pro-CPI chief ministers in the states of West Bengal, Assam, and Orissa. Mrs. Gandhi said she took the attack on Sanjay to be against her personally.

The CPI called for a nation-wide campaign of rallies and demonstrations beginning on New Year's day against price rises, and demanding strict price controls, takeover of the food distribution system, and nationalization of the grain trade, sugar, textile, foreign drug and jute industries. The CPI also criticized the government's abolition of workers' bonuses, government incentives for private business, and tax breaks for high income groups.

After government crackdowns on the CPI in Uttar Pradesh, India's most populous state, major demonstrations in New Delhi, Bombay, and other cities were called off, as local authorities in those cities refused to give the CPI permission to hold public meetings. Public political

It is clear that the Congress-CPI rift comes amidst a growing polarization and unrest in India arising from Gandhi's attempt to make her emergency rule permanent.

meetings are banned under the state of emergency.

It is as yet unclear whether the Congress-CPI alliance has completely fallen apart or if more showdowns are in order. It is also not known whether the CPI will join the growing underground of opposition parties—ranging from nationalist and socialist parties to Marxist-Leninist groups. There are two other main communist groups, the CPI (Marxist), a non-aligned but Peking-leaning group that had worked within Parliament, and the CPI (Marxist-Leninist), known as the Naxalites after anti-landlord uprisings in Naxalbari province of West Bengal. More than 25,000 Naxalites—some estimates are over 50,000—have been jailed.

But it is clear that the Congress-CPI rift comes amidst a growing polarization and unrest in India arising from Gandhi's attempt to make her emergency rule permanent. In November, the Congress-dominated Parliament, with more than three dozen opposition MPs in jail, overhauled the constitution giving increased power to the executive, and postponing elections for at least a year.

While press censorship veils the scope of mass discontent, it is known that last October security forces had to quash opposition to the government's mass sterilization program, killing at least 50 villagers. Moreover, there have been armed clashes in Bihar, insurgency in the state of Andhra, continuing conflict between the "untouchable" landless laborers and upper caste landlords, and brief "lightning" strike actions.

Aside from the third largest standing army in the world, totaling over 750,000 troops, state expenditures on central police (including a host of special units such as the central industrial security force, central reserve police, and border security force) have increased more than 54 times since independence in 1948, and these special units now total some 600,000.

Mrs. Gandhi claims that her emergency powers are needed to move the economy ahead, but most observers agree that the economic gains of the past year are the result of good weather (record harvests), anti-inflationary policies, and crackdowns on hoarding and speculation (which is virtually a second economy), incidental to the political transformation of India that has occurred under Mrs. Gandhi's new power over the past 18 months.

Robert A. Manning is a Berkeley, Calif., journalist who has traveled in and written about India.

Caribbean leftist regimes batten down their hatches



1 HOT SPOTS

By Harvey Levenstein

There is little likelihood of explosive change in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean in 1977. The few leftist governments are batten down the hatches in the face of falling commodity prices. The rightist regimes appear as strong as ever and the middle-of-the-roads are likely to stumble through another difficult year.

Last year's fall in world sugar prices has caused a downward revision in Cuba's economic plan. Most hard hit are the hopes that more consumer goods from the non-communist world would be on Cuban store shelves. The virtual evaporation of Cuba's large market for sugar in Japan has been an especially hard blow to its hopes.

•The populist governments of Jamaica and Guyana have also been hard hit by falling commodity prices. They had nationalized their foreign-owned bauxite mines, hoping to finance ambitious development plans from the profits. Now, with bauxite prices at an abysmal low, both President Forbes Burnham of Guyana and newly re-elected Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica have warned that 1977 will be a year of belt-tightening. Burnham has already announced a scaling down of the economic plan for next year. Manley has made it clear that there will be few crumbs for the left. Rather he will likely have to devalue and dance the austerity tune of the International Monetary Fund.

•In Trinidad, where Eric Williams, a Marxist historian and capitalist politician, last year scored a surprisingly easy victory over a newly-organized leftist coalition, oil money is helping to fuel the illusion of prosperity. Rumor has it that Williams will move toward a substantial state takeover of the foreign-owned oil industry, in part to take the winds from the sails of his leftist critics.

•The year will be the rightists' year for commodities. The repressive conservative regime in Guatemala has been strengthened by the sky-rocketing price of coffee. With no need to raise the wages of the miserably-paid coffee harvesters, the growers of this most important export crop should be especially content in 1977. Because last year's massive earthquake hit hardest in the poorest part of the country, inhabited by Indians barely within the money economy, it did little damage to the economy, hardly affecting production at all. There is little prospect that the tiny leftist guerilla movement in the

mountains will do more than survive the year.

•There is also little hope that Nicaragua will escape the corrupt grip of the Somoza family, who have controlled the country for longer than most people can remember. The two main leaders of Nicaragua's small guerilla movement were just killed and, although there are rumors that the current President Somoza is seriously ill, he will likely be replaced by his legitimate son, a West Point drop-out. Any upheaval that results will likely be a falling out of thieves, with little hope for the rag-tag coalition of opposition groups.

•The conservative military regime of El Salvador, strengthened by coffee prices as well, will likely ride out the year with ease while its mortal rival, the junta in Honduras, will probably succeed again in heading off the minority of junior officers who keep pressing, unsuccessfully, for land reform and a more "nationalist" policy. Their prototype, General Omar Torrijos of Panama, will face a difficult year, for it will likely be "put up or shut" time regarding the Panama Canal Zone.

It will be the best time for the Carter administration to come to an agreement, the bare outlines of which are becoming clear. It will almost certainly call for a strong American presence in the zone for a number of years, something that will be attacked by the very nationalists Torrijos has made a career of courting. Still, with the support of the more "realistic" businessmen and a more benign American government, he should be able to ride out the storm.

•Mexico will recede from the headlines as the new Lopez Portillo administration tries to re-establish the country as the apple of the IMF and Wall Street eye by imposing a form of austerity on the country. By the time Mexico's captive labor movement and disorganized organized peasantry begin exerting enough pressure to force a change in direction the dirty deed will be done. They will be back where they were after the devaluation of 1952: forced to play a kind of "catch-up" ball to businessmen who will have again piled up an insurmountable lead.

However, even this will not likely climax for two or three years at least. Meanwhile, with the renewed support of the business community and a benign administration in Washington, there is little danger to the regime. Few people will be surprised, however, if, as a sop to the left, Portillo continues in a modified form the "Third Worldy" foreign policy path staked out by former President Luis Echeverria. Like Echeverria and President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, Portillo is not unaware of the advantages of counterbalancing rightist policies at home with support for the left in the rest of the world.

Harvey Levenstein is a professor of history at McMaster University in Toronto.

By Middle East Research and Information Project

1976 was a triumphant year for right-wing forces in the Arab world. In an operation financed by the oil-rich gulf states, the Syrians and their rightist Lebanese allies dealt a heavy blow to the Palestinian resistance movement, which has stood as the chief obstacle to a *pax Americana* in the Mideast.

In 1977, the Palestinian resistance movement should remain the focus of political struggle both within Lebanon where the Civil War still smolders on and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, where Palestinian resistance reached its peak in 1976. It will help dictate the progress of the peace talks that the U.S. and the Arab states are now intent on reopening.

►A tame PLO necessary for peace.

Soon after the Syrian invasion of June, Henry Kissinger optimistically stated "that the events in Lebanon may have crystallized forces that may make a return

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Palestinian r focuses Mid

to the Middle East peace negotiations more hopeful."

At the cost of 50,000 dead and thousands more maimed and homeless, American-backed parties began moving once again in the direction of a Geneva peace settlement. Egypt's Sadat and Syria's Assad launched a "peace offensive" with Saudi Arabia's backing. Prominent Israeli figures, including ex-defense minister Moshe Dayan, Gen. Ariel Sharon, and Rabin's personal adviser, Yehosofat Harkabi, called for talks between Israel and the PLO.



3 HOT SPOTS

By John Judis and David Plotke

For the first time since just after World War II, the spectre of communism is haunting southern Europe, where governing coalitions have splintered and the left has set about building majority movements.

•In Italy the Communist party (PCI) has broadened its electoral strength to over a third of the electorate; with the leftward leaning Socialist Party, it controls the administration of Italy's industrial cities. The PCI has taken the lead in forging a new vision of socialism and a new strategy, which the French and Spanish parties have also come to adopt. It reasserts the democratic content of socialism and the independence of national parties.

The PCI's strategy is to seek an "historical compromise"—a coalition with the Christian Democrats in which the PCI as the more coherent party could exert its leadership. So far the Christian Democrats have resisted Communist pressures, but they are presently incapable of gaining a majority for their policies with-

out Communist cooperation. It is only a matter of time before informal cooperation leads to more formal cooperation and to a new political crisis.

•In France a united left of Communist and Socialists, acting within a "Common Front," came within a percentage point of winning the presidential elections in 1974 and now threatens to win the municipal elections this spring. The governing Gaullist coalition has split into President Giscard d'Estaing's liberal wing and down-with-the-left wing led by Jacques Chirac.

•In Portugal, an officer rebellion that overthrew the fascist dictatorship gave way in 1974 to a situation of dual power where communist and far-left groups have taken power in farms, factories, and the media and held substantial power with the government. The Portuguese Socialist Party, which unlike the French or Italian is on the right, was able to split the Armed Forces Movement and, with American and German backing, to drive the Communists out of the government.

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sistance ast conflict

Saudi Arabia broke ranks with the majority of OPEC and raised its oil prices only 5 percent. In return, Saudi oil minister Yamani emphasized, the Saudis are definitely waiting for appreciation from the West for what we did ... and appreciation has to be shown in ... Middle East dispute....

The American sponsored "solution" to the Arab-Israeli conflict envisions Arab recognition of Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal from Arab territory occupied the June 1967 war and the creation of Palestinian state that would include



extreme haunts the nations

at in spite of a recent \$300 million loan from the U.S., the Socialists find themselves tenuously balanced between the communists and popular power movement on one side and the right, which threatens an end to democracy on the other.

In Spain, Franco's death unleashed a process of democratization that threatens to put socialism on the agenda. Pressured by Common Market capital, Spanish capitalists have joined an unholy alliance with the communists and separatists, and socialists. The aim of the Suarez government has been to split the Communist party from the rest by maintaining its distance against the party. Presently negotiations are underway to decide the form of the spring elections to parliament.

A critical factor underlying the struggle in southern Europe is the depth of the recession. In Portugal, for instance, unemployment is estimated at over 20 percent. In Italy inflation has climbed as high as 40 percent.

In this situation national capitalists and

the West Bank and Gaza regions.

But for such a plan to work, it was first imperative to "tame" the PLO and make it into, in Assad's words, a "responsible" movement. Hence Washington praised the "constructive role" played by "progressive" Syria in Lebanon.

►A Palestinian mini-state likely.

As it becomes increasingly difficult for the Israelis or the Palestinian "notables" to control the West Bank population, the creation of a Palestinian mini-state becomes more likely.

In 1976 the Palestinian resistance to Israeli military occupation reached its peak under a new generation of nationalist leaders. Municipal elections swept aside traditional leaders and brought in candidates of the Palestine National Front, the PLO's arm in the West Bank. Students took to the streets almost daily, armed only with stones to confront the tanks and machine guns of the Israeli security forces.

A Palestinian state under PLO leadership would represent a step forward for the national movement. Yet as some Palestinian organizations have pointed out, much of the West Bank and Gaza working class is currently employed in Israel. Its economy will be at the mercy of foreign capital, particularly Saudi Arabian and U.S., which will tend to keep it dependent and politically moderate. Landlocked and surrounded by Israel and Jordan—the two countries most traditionally hostile to Palestinian nationalism—its leaders will be under intense pressure to limit its anti-Zionism to hollow rhetoric.

A Palestinian mini-state would also not resolve the plight of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who lost their lands in the wake of Israel's creation in 1948, most of whom still languish in camps in Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. An influx of these refugees would impose unsupportable economic burdens on the new state and would not satisfy their demand to return to their homeland.

The outlook is for a fluid situation in the West Bank. The people of the West Bank, having endured and resisted successive Ottoman, British, Jordanian, and Israeli occupations, will not passively accept for long their own Palestinian leadership that is unable to satisfy their basic needs.

their parties have become increasingly subordinate to American and German capitalists, who have demanded governmental austerity as a price of their support. The ruling parties have steadily lost support among workers, professionals and small business people, who see them as the agents of economic crisis and see the left as the representative of economic development and the national interest.

In fact, as the left gathers strength, it increasingly finds itself pitted directly against American and German capitalists, as happened during the Italian elections last year and in Portugal.

But the left faces difficult choices. On the one hand, it must proceed cautiously, building firm majorities that could withstand the attempts of political subversion and economic sabotage that would follow any left victory. The fall of Allende and the failure of the Portuguese Communists have left their mark on the southern Europe socialist strategy.

On the other hand, as the PCI is discovering, it must not proceed so cautiously as to become enmeshed in the necessities of capitalist austerity or to alienate its base within the militant sections of the working class.

1977 will continue the "war of position" among the socialist and capitalist forces in southern Europe. A showdown is unlikely. Only Spain faces major elections. And except in Spain there have been no signs of the mass spontaneous unrest that characterized France and Italy during the 1960s and that would force a confrontation.

David Plotke is an editor of *Socialist Revolution*.

Rhodesian black rule near, South Africa protest grows

By Stephen Talbot
Internews

How aggressively will the Carter administration pursue majority rule in southern Africa? That will be a crucial U.S. foreign policy issue in 1977.

The celebrated Kissinger initiative in Africa has stalled. While he was able to force Rhodesia's Ian Smith to accept the principle of black majority rule within two years and to get Smith and the black nationalist leaders to sit down at the conference table in Geneva, he could not create a real basis for negotiations.

Smith insisted on the white control of the transition government, army and police, which he said Kissinger had pledged. The black leaders responded that Kissinger had never even bothered to consult them directly, and they declared that they would never agree to white domination of the interim regime.

The lines of conflict are now drawn more sharply. The guerilla war has intensified. The African "frontline" presidents—the leaders of the five black-ruled countries surrounding Rhodesia—have decided to end their support of black Rhodesian moderates like Bishop Abel Muzorewa and give their full political and military backing to the leaders who are directly linked to the guerillas—Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, who have formed a "Patriotic Front."

There is still a chance for a negotiated settlement, but only if Smith capitulates and agrees to a black majority-controlled transition government. If Smith refuses, the fighting will continue to escalate throughout the country. U.S. and British intelligence reports say the Smith regime is doomed and may not be able to survive another 18 months.

►Smith tries to provoke intervention.

Smith still reportedly believes that when his situation becomes absolutely desperate, the West and South Africa will come to his aid. One tactic of the Smith regime seems to be to stage repeated raids against neighboring Mozambique to try to provoke a full-scale military invasion of Rhodesia. That would give Smith the pretext he needs to issue an emergency appeal for direct Western intervention.

Kissinger realized Smith was a lost cause and wrote him off. His belated call last spring for majority rule in Rhodesia was designed to recoup U.S. losses in the region after the debacle of his covert warfare strategy in Angola and to head off the leftist guerillas in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Kissinger wanted to arrange the establishment of a pro-Western "moderate" black regime in Rhodesia which would keep the Russians out and not threaten Western ownership of Rhodesia's mineral wealth, especially the vital chrome deposits.

Smith's intransigence has upset the Kissinger strategy. Now it is more likely that the pro-socialist guerilla movement will emerge as the leadership of an independent Zimbabwe.

Carter has little choice—given the situation in Rhodesia and the views of his own Democratic Party constituency—but to oppose Smith. The question is how hard his administration will push, and whether he will pursue Kissinger's strategy of trying to keep leftists like Robert Mugabe out of power. A continuation of this anti-guerilla strategy could lead the U.S. into another Angola—with Washington once again backing pro-Western factions that have little or no support among the people of the country.

►South Africa boycott "counterproductive"?

In South Africa, Carter will face the strongest test of his professed support for majority rule. Although Kissinger's initiative was celebrated as a new U.S. policy of aggressive support for majority rule, it really was limited to Rhodesia and, to a lesser extent, Namibia, the South African-



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occupied territory, where a guerilla war is also spreading. Kissinger did almost nothing to pressure South Africa's apartheid regime to end its racist policies—despite the fact that since the Soweto uprising last June the white government has faced the strongest black challenge it has ever known.

In his only extended interview on the subject, Carter told the South African *Financial Mail* last November that he was committed to majority rule and would oppose the "government system of repression within South Africa." But Carter rejected a U.S. economic boycott against South Africa as "counterproductive" saying he favored continued U.S. trade and investment.

Business leaders in South Africa and the U.S. have welcomed this Carter policy, but it has not satisfied the black liberation movements in South Africa or the leaders of the black student rebellion. They argue that the \$2 million U.S. investment in South Africa and the continuing U.S. bank loans are major props of the white supremacist regime—and that the 350 or more U.S. multinational corporations active in South Africa are "partners in apartheid."

Despite the arguments of U.S. multinationals that they are working to improve the situation in South Africa, independent studies—and even reports by *Fortune* magazine and the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Center—show that on wage policy for blacks and whites, on hiring practices, and on job training, U.S. corporations have done no better than the dismal record of other foreign companies.

There is little doubt that the unprecedented racial and class confrontation that took the lives of at least 400 blacks last year will continue in 1977.

There will be more student protests, more boycotts, strikes, and sabotage—and probably an increasing number of attacks against commercial and government buildings in South Africa's white cities.

Prime Minister John Vorster has already warned South Africa's 4 million whites to prepare for a "Communist onslaught." Like Smith, Vorster will undoubtedly appeal to the "free world" for aid when his diehard apartheid regime is pushed to the wall. Many whites remain confident that when that moment comes, the U.S. will act not to aid the black independence movement, but to protect its investments and its access to South Africa's gold, uranium, diamonds and other strategic minerals.

Exploring southern labor



Women jailed during Brookside mine strike

HERE COME A WIND—LABOR ON THE MOVE
Southern Exposure, Vol. 4, Nos. 1-2, \$3.50

The rise of Jimmy Carter has created a hungry market for accounts of "the real South," as baffled Yankees confront stereotypes and seek to understand the new president. Over the past four years—long before the current vogue—*Southern Exposure*, a quarterly produced by the Institute for Southern Studies in Chapel

Hill, N.C., and Atlanta, Ga., has published some of the most perceptive writing on the region today.

Here Come a Wind, a special double issue on the southern labor movement, lives up to this standard. Important features include a comprehensive bibliography on southern labor history and detailed profiles of labor in 13 southern states. These profiles survey each state's main industries, trends in its economy and in wages, labor laws, and union

strength. Each includes a brief discussion of recent state history affecting labor unions and working people.

The profiles are fleshed out by 26 articles, offering a rich blend of interviews with workers and union leaders, sketches from labor history, and examples of current organizing.

Labor's weakness in the South has made the region a haven for runaway industry in search of cheap labor. "Runaways: A Call to Action," by Don Stillman, offers a case study of this continuing process and explains how weak labor laws aid companies determined to crush union efforts to follow them South.

This lesson is underlined by the case of J.P. Stevens, the nation's second largest textile firm. Over 13 years Stevens has compiled a massive record of labor law violations in fighting off organizing efforts by the Textile Workers Union of America. "Stevens vs. Justice" describes this struggle and how sanctions available under the National Labor Relations Act have been powerless to halt the company's intimidation tactics.

►A new coalition needed.

A theme running through the magazine is that victory for the labor movement in the South will require new tactics and the creation of broad coalitions embracing "consumers, academics, journalists, young activists, religious leaders, and community groups." A number of specific cases of new coalitions and new victories are taken up.

In Arkansas, the right to work law—one of the main barriers to union growth—was unsuccessfully challenged in a referendum in November. While the vote was lost, the basis for future victories may have been laid. A broad coalition—ranging from labor unions and the NAACP to the Council of Churches and elements in the Chamber of Commerce—that supported the challenge may have significant impact on the climate for future organizing in Arkansas.

A special section, "Harlan County, 1931-1976," concludes with an interview with Bernard Aronson, one of the main strategists for the United Mine Workers in the 1974 Brookside mine strike. He describes how the union initially faced a weak position at Brookside, with a strike at one mine whose production could easily be replaced by the mine owner, Duke Power Company. The union overcame this through a combination of aggressive media tactics and alliances with consumer groups.

At the same time that the Brookside miners were striking, Duke Power began facing increased consumer opposition to rate hikes. The UMW then formed a coalition with North Carolina consumer groups. Common ground was found around the fuel adjustment clause, a product of the 1974 "energy crisis" that let power companies pass fuel costs on to consumers. The adjustment clause became a vulnerable target after it became clear that Duke Power was using it to make consumers bear the costs of the Brookside strike.

►Lessons of civil rights struggle.

Many of the new possibilities for southern labor flow from the civil rights movement. Jim Grant, a North Carolina civil rights organizer, explores the ties between labor and the black movement in a perceptive essay. To succeed in the South, he concludes, unions must employ tactics that encourage mass participation and must go beyond narrow trade union issues to become a vehicle for broad community goals.

"Victoria sobre Farah" by Bill Finger offers an account of tensions between the Chicano community and the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union (drawn largely from northwestern white ethnics) during a 22-month strike against Farah textile plants in Texas (1972-74). Finger's article, together with case studies of the Textile Workers' efforts at Oneita Mills in South Carolina and J.P. Stevens, reinforces Grant's conclusion.

"A Woman's Work" by Elizabeth Tornquist explores the impact and potential of the women's movement for labor in the South. The article contains important information on differences between the conditions of women working in the South and in other regions. It is weakened by an absence of the kind of examination of specific cases that enriched Grant's essay on the black movement and labor. A planned issue of *Southern Exposure* on women may explore this topic more fully.

Here Come a Wind set out to explore the roots from which a new labor movement may emerge in the South. It will itself be a valuable resource for those engaged in building that movement.

(Single issues of *Southern Exposure* may be ordered from the Institute for Southern Studies, P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. A year's subscription costs \$8.)

—Bob McMahon

Bob McMahon is a reporter living in North Carolina.

Health In Short

Birth Control Warnings Due

The Pill will soon become even harder for many women to swallow when the Food and Drug Administration releases its revised warning labels for oral contraceptives. Doctors are scheduled to receive the final version from FDA within the next four months and a patient booklet will be available within six months.

The new warnings say: Women over 40 should not use oral contraceptives because of the increased risk of heart attack found among women in this age group using the pill; use of the pill should be stopped at least one month prior to any planned major surgery because the risk of dangerous post-operative blood clot formation is four to six times higher among pill users; benign liver tumors that may rupture and result in internal bleeding have occasionally been associated with oral contraceptives; and patients on the pill should be monitored for breast tumors and abnormal bleeding from the uterus.

The new patient booklet will also say that short of sterilization, the pill is still the most effective form of birth control.

A racist, sexist disease?

A new study released by the National Center for Health Statistics shows nearly 23 million people, or one-fifth the adult U.S. population has high blood pressure. The disease, medically known as hypertension, is a common cause of heart attacks, strokes and kidney disorders.

But the study also shows your chances of being afflicted with the dreaded ailment are much greater if you are a woman, poor, black or elderly.

White males, on the other hand, had the least incidence of hypertension.

Only 12 percent of white males surveyed suffered from the disease compared with 17.7 percent of white women, 17.4 percent of black men and a whopping 25.4

percent of black women. Among the elderly the differences were even more startling, with 60.5 percent of all black women over 65 suffering from some degree of hypertension as compared to only 25.4 percent of white males over 65.

And while we're at it, we might as well point out that hypertension is also a respecter of class distinctions. Using age-adjusted totals, the study showed that only an estimated 13.3 percent of adults with annual incomes of at least \$10,000 were hypertensive as opposed to 22.0 percent of those with annual incomes of \$5,000 per year or less.

And if that weren't bad enough, the study showed southerners had a slightly higher incidence of the disease than northerners or westerners. So if you're a woman, poor, black or elderly, you now have something else to worry about. And if you're an elderly black woman living in the south, walk (please don't run) to the nearest doctor for a checkup.

Beauty is a jar of Vaseline

Despite the \$50,000,000 women spend annually on skin creams, the best moisturizer is a thin layer of petroleum jelly applied over a wet face. According to New York dermatologist Dr. Ronald E. Sherman in a recent issue of *Science Digest* magazine, the expensive creams are no better and only "make the skin feel nicer and look less dry and papery."

"When the skin ages," Dr. Sherman said, "the connective and elastic tissues start to degenerate.... The skin's subcutaneous fat begins to atrophy and the result is sagging skin and wrinkles. There is no way to retard that." The skin aging process can be accelerated, however, chiefly through sun and wind—exposure to the hostile elements. Moisturizing creams and ointments only help to retard the acceleration—not the aging process itself.

—Compiled by Bonne Nesbitt

Classified



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LIFE IN THE U.S.



Photo by David Wright

Jessie Lloyd O'Connor: one of the foot soldiers

By Judy MacLean
National Staff Writer

In 1919 a young girl named Jessie Lloyd made a bet with her high school classmates that the U.S. would have socialism within five years. "After I lost that bet," she says, "I began to see why it wouldn't be so immediate."

"Jessie's life hasn't been so glamorous," says a friend, "but she's always been there, one of the foot soldiers of the movement. Hers has been a life consistently dedicated to peace, socialism, democracy and integration."

Jessie Lloyd O'Connor comes from a family long known for radicalism. Her grandfather, Henry Demarest Lloyd, shocked America with the first exposure of Standard Oil in *Atlantic Monthly* magazine in 1881. He expanded it to a book, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, and was close to the socialist party of that era.

Her mother, Lola Maverick Lloyd, a pacifist who helped found the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, came from the family whose last name has become American slang for both unbranded cattle and nonconformists. Her father was a socialist when she was young, although he later turned conservative.

The Lloyds lived in Winnetka, Ill., a wealthy Chicago suburb founded by people of radical and socialist leanings. By the mid-twenties, when her father gave the town a statue of an unemployed working man emblazoned with quotes from American radicals to the effect that private property is theft, the town had grown more conservative. A tall hedge was planted around the statue and there is talk of removing the statue altogether.

► Couldn't understand why.

"The thing that hit me as a child," she remembers, "was that riding into town we passed children playing in dirty streets and on coal piles. I said, 'Daddy, why don't they play on the nice green grass?' I didn't understand why the poor had to live another way. He was a socialist then, and he explained as well as he could."

Later, she and the shoemaker's son were the only students in the Winnetka grammar school who supported Socialist party candidate Eugene V. Debs for president.

At college, she studied conservative economics, "to see if I could believe it, and I

couldn't. I stuck to my old ideas, that we needed socialism," she says.

She spent the year 1927 in the Soviet Union. There were a lot of hardships, but "I was very impressed with the spirit there. They hadn't yet forced the collectivization of agriculture. I thought it was quite a healthy place, then." She wrote stories for the *London Daily Herald* and sent carbons to the Federated Press, a radical U.S. labor news service.

When she returned, she met and married a young man who also worked for Federated Press, Harvey O'Connor. Together, they decided to go to Pittsburgh. "At that time we figured it was the most hard-boiled anti-union town in the country and we wanted to see what we could do."

They wrote newspaper stories, and did support work for labor organizers. "Every Saturday night in the poor district, on the Hill, there would be a meeting of the unemployed councils, and the police would move in on them, beat them up; and the next week they'd be back, just the same," she recalls. She and Harvey would observe and publicize the meetings

and try to get better known people to do the same.

► Moved to Chicago.

These activities continued when they moved to Chicago where she and Harvey adopted two children. They lived at Hull House, the famous settlement house founded by Jane Addams in a very poor Chicago neighborhood. "A lot of radicals brought up in comfortable environments think they're living austerely, but they aren't really," says a friend. "But Jessie has lived in working class neighborhoods and endured the same conditions as everyone there."

During World War II, Jessie's pacifist and socialist heritage made for conflicts. She'd been part of an anti-fascist group since the mid-thirties. "I was torn. I don't really believe in war, and on the other hand I wouldn't oppose the war against Hitler," she says. She settled the conflict by doing war relief work.

During the fifties, Harvey was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and Jessie's passport was seized. She says the Un-American Activities Committee was based on "a fallacy of trying to counter radicalism and commun-

ism by that kind of witch hunt and vengeance. People don't become radical and communist just for pleasure, or from wickedness, but because they don't see any hope for the human race without changing the system," she says. "If HUAC wanted to fight communism, they should have proved that the system can be decent for people."

She was an early opponent of the Vietnam war and thinks the movements of the sixties were "just wonderful."

About the women's movement, she says, "As in any movement, there have to be some people who are more extreme, prickly, more of a nuisance than others. Then the respectable people say to them, 'Oh, well, you're just hurting your cause.' But somebody has to be the one that needles them; otherwise it won't go as far as it should."

► In the background.

"Jessie's shy and people have always paid more attention to Harvey, who led the resistance to HUAC for many years," says a friend.

I asked Jessie if women had been held back in the many movements she's been part of. "Oh, absolutely," she answered, "and it's a habit that's got to be changed." Harvey, who had been listening to this interview, mentioned that Jessie had been a great help in his writing, screening him so he had time for his work.

She said with a wry smile, "As some woman said, every woman needs a wife to answer the door, answer the telephone, to take care of the details of the house. It makes me mad when they say women don't have the talent for composing that men do. I'm sure it has a lot to do with the fact that they never have the long stretches of free time."

In retirement now, Jessie's still hopeful about socialism for the U.S. "Some of my conservative relatives say, 'You wouldn't preach the class struggle, would you?' And I say, I don't preach it; I see it happening all around. I saw it way back in Pittsburgh, every time the workers tried to stand up for themselves, every time the companies chiseled on their wages."

Socialists today, she believes, need to "look back in American history, not only at Marx, to see things like movements toward cooperation, and American leaders that preached in the name of socialism, like Debs, and realize that it's a perfectly American idea."

From

What Next?

By Jessie Lloyd O'Connor

Some radio commentators picture socialism as a bugaboo waiting to pounce on us from abroad. But an American, Eugene V. Debs, was preaching socialism 80 years ago, long before there was a Soviet Union. If Americans turn to socialism, we will certainly do it the way we want it. It is a happy fact that we have many citizens now who enjoy working for the public good even though they could make more in their own business. Working for each other can be a lot of fun, as church supporters and barn raisings have proved. We could have more of that kind of spirit if we controlled our own workplace, and it might help ease modern loneliness.

Part III

Can't reform them, so punish them

Prompted by widespread recognition that the "War on Crime" has failed to make a dent in spiraling crime rates in the U.S., a new hard line has emerged in the criminal justice establishment.

By mid-1976, 35 states had passed new death-penalty laws—designed to get around the Supreme Court's 1972 decision that existing provisions were enforced in arbitrary and discriminatory ways—making the death penalty mandatory for certain specific crimes. Following New York's draconian revision of its penalties for hard-drug offenses in 1973, at least a dozen states introduced stiff, mandatory sentences for serious crimes like kidnapping, hard-drug sales and felonies committed with guns. Federal legislation requiring mandatory penalties for drug offenses is pending.

In California last September, Governor Jerry Brown signed a package of "law and order" legislation including the abolition of indeterminate sentences and harsher treatment for repeated offenders—"three-time losers." A \$4.2 million LEAA-funded "career criminal" program in 18 cities is pushing quick trials and stiff sentences for "hardened" criminals. Across the country, the trend is toward longer prison sentences and less frequent use of probation.

In response to rising rates of youth crime, many states are moving toward harsher treatment of juvenile offenders—lowering the age at which young people can be tried in adult courts and introducing stiff sentences for serious youth crimes. The American Bar Association-sponsored Juvenile Justice Standards Commission proposes that 16 and 17 year-olds be tried in adult courts for crimes of violence, and subjected to adult sentences. New York's legislature recently created mandatory two-to-five-year sentences for 14 and 15 year-olds convicted of felonies, and similar legislation is in the works in several other states.

Paradoxically, some of these trends have been supported by civil-libertarian critics of the criminal justice system as well as traditional hard-liners. The successful attack on California's indeterminate sentence law, for example, was carried out by an improbably alliance of Reaganite conservatives wanting tougher and more certain penalties and civil-libertarians wanting to check the arbitrariness and abuses that indeterminate sentencing has notoriously fostered. But there is little doubt that the overall trend represents a victory for an emerging conservative and authoritarian strategy of crime control.

► Giving up on rehabilitation.

A key premise of that strategy is the rejection of the idea that most criminals can or should be "rehabilitated"—the staple assumption of liberal criminal justice for more than a century. As Norman Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, has put it, "Most of us in the field of criminal justice are now willing to admit that we don't know how to change criminal offenders." This "new sense of realism," Carlson argues, has led to a "more balanced philosophy of corrections," which emphasizes punishment and deterrence of crime as at least equally important as rehabilitation.

This mood has spawned a small academic business in studies purporting to show that punishment acts as a deterrent to crime, and arguing that swifter and more certain punishment is the only workable alternative to rising crime rates. According to Gordon Tullock, an economist at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and a major promoter of the new emphasis on punishment, "We have an unpleasant method—deterrence—that works, and a pleasant method—rehabilitation—that (at least so far) never has worked. Under the circumstances, we have to opt either for the deterrence method or for a higher crime rate."

Beneath the stress on the virtues of punishment is a newly fashionable pessimism

Crime Report

A FOUR-PART SERIES



The underlying thrust is a profound cynicism about the possibility of social change; crime is accepted as an inevitable feature of urban life, and suspicion and defensive isolation are elevated into principles.

about the possibility of dealing with the deeper social and economic causes of crime, which holds that those causes are either unknowable or prohibitively difficult to change. The chief advocate for this view is Harvard's James Q. Wilson, whose 1975 book *Thinking about Crime* has become a kind of Bible for the "new realism" in criminal justice.

Wilson's main argument is that all attempts to confront the "root causes" of crime are "utopian," and should be abandoned in favor of measures that increase the "costs" of crime for would-be criminals. In this increasingly popular view, the chances of a criminal's being punished have become uncertain because of the inefficiency and misguided liberalism of the criminal justice system. Crime has thus become a rational alternative for a workless urban "lower class" dominated by the search for "immediate gratifications." Ideally, Wilson writes, the solution would be to simultaneously increase the "benefits of work" and the "costs of crime," making honest labor more attractive than breaking the law. But in practice, increasing the benefits of work—by, for instance, lowering the unemployment rate—turns out to be "much more difficult than once supposed." Since economic conditions are difficult or impossible to change, stiffer and more certain punishment becomes the most "realistic" tool of social policy.

One of the most extreme, and brutal, expression of this kind of "realism" was offered by New York City housing administrator Roger Starr in a 1972 article in the *New York Times Magazine*. Starr suggested that one reason crime rates are so high today is that natural solutions to the

crime problem no longer exist. In the past, working-class criminals were much more vulnerable to the normal hazards of living in poverty and tended to die from diseases and industrial accidents at an early age. Today, better health standards have removed these solutions. Criminals live longer and are able to commit more crimes. In Starr's view, however, all is not lost; the new disease of heroin addiction offers a modern counterpart to the old diseases. According to Starr, "cold-blooded realism" suggests that crime would be substantially reduced if we terminated all programs designed to treat addicts and let addiction take its natural toll and happily remove an especially crime-prone segment of the urban population.

A more subtle version of the new "realism" is the concept of "defensible space," conceived by architect and planner Oscar Newman. Creating "defensible space" means redesigning urban communities—especially low-income housing projects—to make them open to constant surveillance and monitoring by their residents. In Newman's view, this requires enforcing the segregation of various distinct population groups—the elderly, welfare families, etc.—into their own self-contained enclaves, where they will presumably develop a sense of shared responsibility and concern for their environment. Designing the physical structure of these enclaves to make them "defensible"—by changing the location of entrances, making streets, parking lots and play areas more visible, and forsaking high-density elevator buildings in favor of smaller units—will reduce the temptation offered to criminals while helping to

instill a sense of common territory in the residents. The "defensible space" approach is couched in a rhetoric of "community control" and even "liberation" ("Security," Newman writes, "is the first essential step toward liberation"). But the underlying thrust is a profound cynicism about the possibility of social change; crime is accepted as an inevitable feature of urban life, and suspicion and defensive isolation are elevated into basic principles of city planning. "Defensible space" has struck a very responsive chord in the criminal justice establishment; last year, LEAA gave Newman \$650,000 to develop the concept of "crime prevention through environmental design," and in 1974 awarded nearly \$2 million to Westinghouse Corporation to design working "defensible space" programs for public housing projects.

► Home as a stockade.

The declining concern for the causes of crime has also led to an emphasis on what LEAA calls "target hardening"—making crimes harder to commit by improving security measures for persons and property. One expression of this is the "Operation Identification" program, which purports to stop burglars in their tracks by having home-owners engrave identification numbers of their valuables. LEAA's research arm, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, has spent millions for research and development of security devices—including better burglar alarms and window locks and a tiny watch-sized "personal alarm system" which sends electronic signals to police stations in case of attack. Along similar lines, LEAA's Neighborhood Watch Program has enrolled over 2,000 communities since 1972 in programs designed to involve "just plain folks," as Richard Thornburgh of the Justice Department's Criminal Division puts it, in neighborhood crime "prevention."

Much of this effort is harmless and inane. In Pocatello, Idaho, according to a recent LEAA newsletter, "the populace has taken on the bad guys through such imaginative tactics as anti-burglary informational placemats that will be used on restaurant tables, and home security pamphlets sent out with checking account statements." But Neighborhood Watch has deeper and more disturbing implications, for beneath the rhetoric about "grass roots involvement" in crime prevention is the promotion of a cynical "us versus them" attitude, a vision of the neighborhood as a kind of urban stockade. "Be suspicious of that man you have never seen before," warns a Neighborhood Watch brochure; "Keep an eye on all strangers while they are in your neighborhood ... write down license numbers and descriptions of strange cars." These programs fit well with Roger Starr's insistence that the only recourse for urban citizens against crime is to arrange their habits so that "life becomes a series of precautions against invasion."

The "New Realism" in crime control parallels a wider trend in domestic social policy, expressed in corporate and government calls for lowered expectations, restraints on the democratic process, and acceptance of an "age of limits." Like the broader trend, the "new realism" is rooted in the reality of economic stagnation and the disintegration of liberal solutions to the problems of advanced capitalism in the U.S. It promises to bring a new level of authoritarianism and repression to American social life. But in the absence of a strong and coherent progressive response to the crime problem, it appears as an attractive alternative for many people increasingly frightened by crime and increasingly frustrated by the criminal justice system's inability to control it.

Elliot Currie has taught criminology at the University of California at Berkeley and at Yale University, and is a member of the East Bay chapter of the New American Movement.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

October Light: two novels
one boring, one brilliant

OCTOBER LIGHT

By John Gardner
Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., \$10

To turn to the news of the day, it seems that the cannibals of Europe are going to eat one another again ... The cocks of the hen yard kill one another; bears, bulls, rams do the same, and the horse, in his wild state, kills all the young males until, when he's worn down with age, some youth kills him...."

—Thomas Jefferson
to John Adams

John Gardner chose to begin *October Light* with this poignant Jefferson quote because it captures the essence of his two feisty protagonists—Sally Page Abbott and her brother, James L. Page. They too are symbolic of the desperate struggle between the old and the new, the traditional and the modern.

Set in Vermont, near Bennington, the plot centers on the conflict between James, a cantankerous, obstinate, honest and fiercely patriotic farmer who is "meaner than pussley broth," and Sally, widowed and forced by hard times to come to him for help "like some immigrant in a black shawl."

During one of his recurrent fits of rage at the modern world, James destroys her television set with a blast from his shotgun (he can no longer tolerate its "endless simpering advertising"), chases her upstairs with a piece of firewood and locks her in her room.

When he relents, it's too late; the old woman is on strike, ready as any radical feminist to die for her inalienable right to an autonomous existence and to proclaim what is good about contemporary society.

Although progressive and more enlightened than James, Sally is vengeful, stubborn and ruthless, as evidenced by the death trap she sets, a heavy crate of apples placed over her door so it will crash down on his head if he enters her room.

The main story is an exciting one, with which Gardner should have been satisfied. Although his use of reminiscence at times impedes the flow, the book is powerful enough to have survived on that alone.

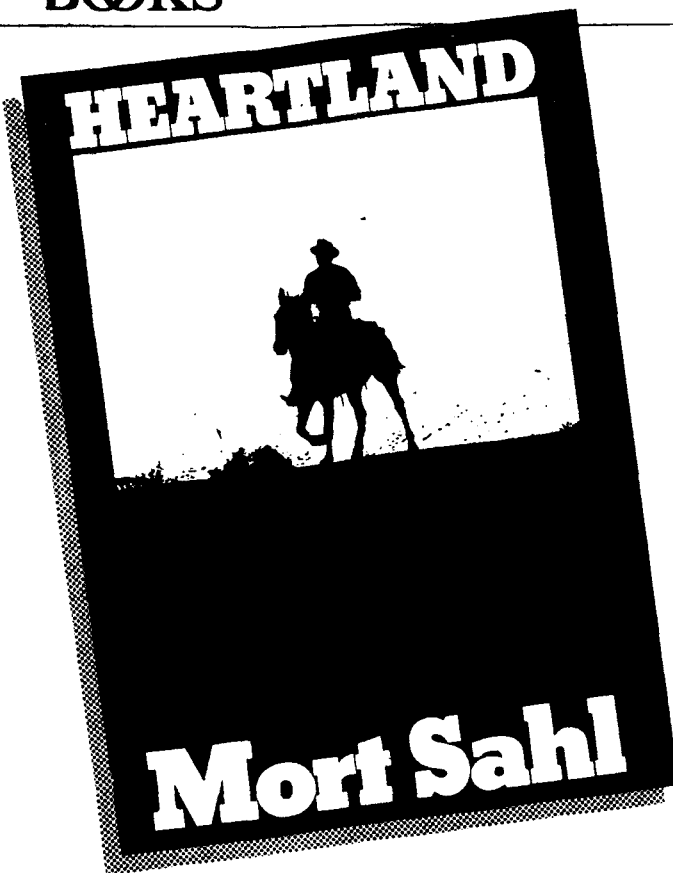
Unfortunately he wasn't satisfied and mistakenly added a sub-novel, which does nothing to help. When Sally is locked in her room with nothing to do, she finds a trashy paperback novel, *The Smugglers of Lost Souls' Rock*, and Gardner gives us huge doses of it. It's a hodgepodge of characters and events, ranging from a gang of philosophical marijuana smugglers operating between San Francisco and Mexico, to a rival gang, composed of an Indian and two murderous, but equally philosophical blacks, to a bizarre old paraplegic, an orgy, an earthquake and a flying saucer. Over one-third of *October Light* is devoted to this boring prattle, which the reader could have been spared by some merciful editing.

But Gardner's talent is more impressive than his faults. He is effective in evoking nuances of Old America in Ethan Allen country. And his descriptions are so vivid that the reader can almost hear the October wind sweeping leaves down the mountain slopes.

In spite of its shortcomings and its excesses, *October Light* is a powerful work of fiction.

—Tashian Ferrell

Tashian Ferrell works in publishing in New York.

Mort Sahl plays
the Lone Ranger

HEARTLAND

By Mort Sahl
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, N.Y., \$7.95

"I write to you as a man whose conscience is completely out of control."

The man out of control is Mort Sahl, once America's favorite political comedian, now a serious and an angry critic. *Heartland* is the story of how he was censored, blacklisted, physically and financially strong-armed by the forces that control access to the American mass audience and didn't want Sahl to reach it when his humor—or the times—turned lethal.

Starting as a stand-up monologist in a San Francisco night club, Sahl quickly parlayed his success with college audiences into a \$1 million-a-year income

(from records, personal appearances and his own radio and television programs). In the 1964 primary campaign, he was asked to write material for candidate John Kennedy (and did) even though Sahl was using his TV program to push the Stevenson candidacy.

"Then the Kennedys started ruling and I started attacking them." For a while he was tolerated as a loyal oppositionist. But Ambassador Joseph Kennedy's sense of humor was less sophisticated than his son's. Sahl was warned that the ambassador was saying that if he didn't cooperate (i.e. stop heckling), he would never work again.

And sure enough, "The work began to dry up." In a remarkably short time his agent (the William Morris Office) was no longer interested in booking him. He lost his TV and radio shows. Clubs where he had once played to full houses couldn't find a date for him. And Capitol Records signed him for a two-year contract to make no records.

Finally someone "was man enough to tell [him] what was happening.... I've been told that the White House would be offended if I hired you, and I'd be audited on my taxes."

Sahl claims he is not complaining about the financial crunch, so much as the effect of censorship. "The issue isn't that a few scores of people ultimately control access to the mass audience ... It's who these people are."

The real crunch came not from the Kennedy team but from the forces Sahl accuses of murdering John Kennedy. It came when "a confluence of strange circumstances turned America into a dangerous place ... when the most obscene event in American history was unfolding—the Vietnam war.... when the American electorate was presided over by a president who was removed from office, and then by a president who was not elected.... How do you characterize this period? If you call it ... dangerous, would that make you a bona fide paranoid?"

More
BOOKS
on page 19

Heartland is not an easy book to read cover to cover. It has a lot of mordant Sahlisms:

• "A social democratic President would have to bomb China to prove he's not a communist."

• Or, "There are no anonymous murders any more.... When a computer is blown up, we hear people say, 'Well, we found in the charred ruins a sign saying, We did it because we hate capitalism. Sincerely yours, the Left.'"

• "When I made fun of Eisenhower, however, the college audiences thought I was making chaos out of order. Twenty years later the college audiences are asking me to bring order to chaos: Tell me what it means, man."

The book wanders as wildly as a typical Sahl routine, repeating itself here, skipping necessary connections there. It is marred by outcroppings of the writer's monstrous ego and by some inexcusable chauvinisms. It is nevertheless a desperately serious sometimes a brilliant effort to persuade his reader that the republic is threatened by fascism.

Sahl's villain is the CIA, which he accuses of the murder of a president and other high crimes and misdemeanors, not least of which is the deliberate promotion of domestic discord and crippling cynicism. He does not present conclusive proof of any of his allegations, but the reader is referred to sources. On the Kennedy assassination and the conspiracy behind it, the source is Jim Garrison, the New Orleans D.A. who tried to bring some of the minor figures in the alleged conspiracy to trial.

Sahl spent four years working with Garrison (playing college dates, when he could get them, to pay for groceries and the rent, because "the knowledge that great crimes can go ... unpunished is ... more damaging to the idea of Jefferson's Republic than malice."

What he urges is political action before it is too late. "The mistake the left always made was that it felt ... if they got the facts to the people, the people would rise in righteous indignation. [But] the distance between taking social action and having the knowledge is as wide as the mouth of the Mississippi.... And they'll die if they don't do it. I would say that's too great a price to pay.... I don't think fascism is worth dying for."

Both Garrison and Sahl are frequently dismissed as politically ambitious (in the case of Garrison) and/or paranoid. ("The fact is the best way to advance yourself in politics is *not* to attack the federal government," Sahl says. Both men believe their lives have been threatened. Sahl spent a year "in a full brace, from my crotch to my throat" after an auto accident he blames on an LSD Mickey Finn. Certainly both these 1970-style Quixote are effectively disoriented.

Heartland is Sahl's howl from outer darkness. Its last lines are "Is anybody listening? Does anybody care?"

—Janet Stevenson

Polish poet visits homeland

POLISH PROFILES

By Antoni Gronowicz
Lawrence Hill & Co., Westport, Conn.
1976, \$10.00

Antoni Gronowicz left Poland to get an education and a decent job. Twenty-five years later he returned for a family visit, bringing his American wife and two children, with copies of his poems pasted inside his suitcase lids to give pleasure to the customs officials.

Polish Profiles is a thoughtful, sometimes humorous account of what he saw and heard, social and historical comment, some of his own poems, and translations of new Polish poets. It is not propaganda, although it will be discounted by confirmed anti-socialists who are unwilling to accept the reality of rebuilt cities, thriving farms, universal education, and an effectual state-operated health plan in a "Soviet satellite."

What this poet-scholar-commentator sees in his homeland is a mix of old and new, traditional and experimental—a

nation of individuals who refuse to conform to any stereotypical pattern.

"Everything is voluntary; no one is compelled to participate." That is the author's brother, Wladek, explaining why he continues to work the family farm alone in a socialist state where mechanized cooperative agriculture is the order of the day.

Gronowicz's knowledge of Polish history prepares him—and the reader—for what he "discovers." Pressured by Russia on the east and Prussia on the west, ruled by foreign kings, required to speak other "official" languages, the Poles have clung fiercely to their national identity through a series of invasions and occupations. Over six million Poles, of whom two million were Jews, lost their lives in World War II and the country was further exploited by the terms agreed upon at Yalta.

Nevertheless, socialism has come to Poland gradually and "naturally." German settlers were peacefully evacuated from disputed western areas. Ex-

iled Poles came home with hopes for an order better than the old one. Land reform gave workable holdings to the peasants who were left to discover for themselves that they could make more by collective farming and marketing. Small industries were started and managed by workers. Theory in all cases followed practice.

The author is a man who likes food, music, jokes—who can describe a theatrical performance and the rebuilding of a war-shattered city with equal enthusiasm. His book is lively reading.

It will confirm the hopes and beliefs of convinced socialists. It may disturb dogmatists, whether they believe that socialism spells the end of individual initiative, or that it offers the only route to utopia. For the non-political reader it is an eye-opening account of a truly unique social development.

—Velma Tate

Velma Tate is an editor/novelist/poet who has recently retired to live in a small village in up-state New York.

FILMS



Elaine May is no Lina Wertmuller

MIKEY AND NICKY

Written and directed by Elaine May
With Peter Falk and John Cassavetes
Paramount release, rated R

Elaine May's latest film is enough to break your heart. As both writer and director, she has tackled a serious subject and muffed it about as completely as possible.

After looking at all the romantic, fun-chase films, full of despicable heroes that fill the screens these days, one can imagine her saying: "... but no. Small-time criminals and gangland punks aren't like that. It's time people stopped making romantic heroes out of such shoddy material. I'll make a film about two no-count characters and when I get through no one will find them captivating."

It could be a great subject. Certainly a worthy mission. But she never made it. What she made was a film in which two very good actors improvise the characters of two gangland hoods. And even that sounds more interesting than the film actually is.

Men like Mikey and Nicky don't matter unless they are shown in a larger context and in contrast to values other than their own. Elaine May's two hoods are isolated in a hotel bedroom and on the empty night streets of some California city. There is no wider world. The few people they come in contact with are no more interesting than they.

The two women in the film might have provided some insight into Mikey and Nicky, but they are brushed off. Nicky's poor, bruised, cowed girl friend, well played by Ruth Arrick, has one moment when she yells at him and tells him to get out after he has slept with her and offered her up to his friend. Mikey's wife is dishonestly conceived, and you never believe her for an instant.

Two two main characters, as sketched in by John Cassavetes and Peter Falk, are scarcely distinguishable one from the other (except that one has stomach ulcers, the other doesn't) and it's difficult to build dramatic tension between two likes. Before long you get bored with their aimless dialogue. No one will ever convince me that actors improvise better lines than writers write.

In the name of realism (the kindest interpretation) there is one scene in the film that is unforgivable. Mikey and Nicky have drifted into a black bar. They get into a stupid altercation, started by Nicky. One of the black men, exasperated, says, "What do you think I am—stupid?" Nicky's answer, "Then why are ya' black?" gets a gasp from the audience. His additional insults would have got him killed if there had been any real realism involved.

The only thing I did like about the film was that although there was "raw" sex, I didn't have to look at anatomically enumerated moving parts; and that although there was violence and murder, I didn't have to watch the bags of #4 stage blood burst and splatter.

Elaine May's no Lina Wertmuller.

—Mavis Lyons

You should have seen *Kong I*

Kong II is a one-shot affair, a freak show.

KING KONG

Directed by John Guillermin; screenplay by Lorenzo Semple Jr.
Produced by Dino De Laurentis, for Paramount release

Who would remake *King Kong*? The question itself is shocking. Who would remake the pyramids? Yet, despite the initial surprise of the question, the answer is simple; namely someone who wants to make a lot of money. For eventually everyone will see *Kong II* just as everyone saw *Kong I*.

But how does one remake *King Kong*? The original was, to a large extent, an accident, a work of folk art that suggested in vague, dreamlike ways all sorts of themes of sex and power. For three decades, people have tried to decipher the multiple, enigmatic messages of *Kong I*. The density, but even more importantly, the naivete of the original presents difficulties to any remake. Unfortunately *Kong II* attempts to settle those problems with a singularly literal-minded approach.

Where the original was suggestive, *Kong II* is literal. The original postulated some vague passion between Beast and Beauty. In the remake, Kong's white goddess swoons under his hot, heavy breath. At points she even breaks off love-making with her human lover in order to soothe her savage beast.

The original suggested itself as an allegory of imperialism. In the remake, Kong is literally turned into a third-world resource, on a par with oil. His execution is

achieved by helicopters straight off the Mekong Delta.

Even in its visual style, *Kong II* is heavy-handed. In the original, there are subtle, repeating motifs. On his island, Kong climbs to the top of a mountain, fights a giant snake, and then is attacked by a winged reptile. In New York, Kong fights a subway, climbs the Empire State building, and is attacked by vintage biplanes. In the remake, this whole structure of visual rhyming between island and city is reduced to a single correlation between a rock formation on the island and the World Trade Center. (This correspondence is pointed out, somewhat hysterically, by one of the characters.)

Where the original was artistically reserved, visually suggesting lots to think about and discuss, the new *Kong* is garrulous. It is as if the producers hoped to guarantee their monu-

mental investment by touching all the bases of the original. But in their eagerness to please they have destroyed the whole wonderful, vague tone that was part of the allure of the original. One could watch *Kong I* every few years and come away with a new observation each time. *Kong II* is a one-shot affair, a freak show.

Kong II has none of the craftsmanship of the original. In place of Willis O'Brien's painstaking animation, the new production has a huge model of Kong, which it intercuts with a man in a gorilla suit. Because of the animation, the movements of the island monsters had an unnatural, jerky pace that heightened the dream-like effect of the cloud-covered island. The new film, with its man in the monkey costume, looks much more like an early *Godzilla* movie.

The Party line on Kong

Moscow, Jan. 12, Reuter. A Soviet weekly said today the new version of *King Kong* was being widely advertised in the West because the film helped distract ordinary people from the capitalist economic crisis.

"What is the reason for the wild advertising campaign around the film?" the weekly *Literary Gazette* asked, and then supplied its own answer: "The first *King Kong* appeared at the time of a serious economic crisis of capi-

talism, and the present one is born of a similar situation," it said.

"After sitting watching it for two hours, the cinema-goer emerges into the street struck by 'what could happen.' The lines at the employment offices, inflation and the high cost of living are all for a while blurred in his mind by the fearful snarl of the gorilla, which makes him think things could, after all, be worse."

Perhaps it is unfair to measure *Kong II* against its royal lineage. But even on its own account, it is overdrawn. The most upsetting but not immediately apparent problem with the film is its cynicism. The film updates the old story—the white man invades the island not to make movies, but for oil. Corporate imperialism, advertising and ruthlessness are painted with a tar brush. The major male (human) character makes a speech for ecology while trying to preserve Kong's endangered species. A film for and of the people? Hardly.

Kong II was produced by Paramount Pictures, a subsidiary of Gulf & Western Corp., which has large mining interests, including holdings in oil. So much for ecology. As for the anti-imperialism theme, Gulf & Western, along with Kennecott Copper, holds a 39 percent interest in a \$290 million ilmenite mining and smelting installation in South Africa. The cynicism here is overwhelming. A corporation, seeking profits, invests something in the neighborhood of \$25 million, proposing a caricature and a broad criticism of something not unlike itself. The audience cheers when the executive-hustler, the slickly mustachioed villain of the piece is fittingly squashed like an insect by Kong.

With sardonic calculation, Gulf & Western has found a way to market its own ugliness.

—Noel Carroll

Noel Carroll teaches film at New York University.

BOOKS

Goya—the artist of an aborted revolution

helps illuminate the period of crisis in Spain today

GOYA AND THE IMPOSSIBLE REVOLUTION

By Gwyn A. Williams
Pantheon, \$15

The work of Francisco Goya—bitter, pathetic, hallucinatory drawings, etchings and paintings—retain a power that reaches far from his native Spain and from his time.

Goya and his art were intimately bound up with the tumult of Spanish life and politics of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. While demonstrating precisely how Goya's art was part of his epoch, Gwyn Williams, in this brief but rich essay, provides an interpretation of Spanish culture that helps illuminate the period of crisis in Spain today.

After winning recognition and moderate wealth as a painter of court commissions, Goya turned his talents increasingly to dark, satiric mockeries of the clergy, aristocracy and old, superstitious institutions of Spain. At first ordinary peasants and city people enter his works as conventional subjects, depicted with a growing realism—or, more accurately, with greater attention to harsh and ugly details normally banished from the dream world of royal portraits. Later, as Williams shows, Goya grew more socially conscious, and his "little people" come to



"Why?" French soldiers torture a Spanish victim in "The Disasters of War" series.

This shift in Goya's work included a move away from painting toward drawing and engraving. Also, more of his works were done for friends or for himself, rather than for the patrons of the arts.

The breaks in Goya's career were closely tied both to social eruptions and to severe personal illnesses. A fundamental conflict was developing between the partisans of democracy, the Enlightenment and the French revolution, and the defenders of an old order symbolized by the despotic paranoia of the Inquisition.



Goya caricatures the burden of Church and State in Spain, where social relations were as irrational as peasants carrying their burros. "Thou who canst not...(lift me on thy shoulders)" from "Caprichos."

This conflict between the "two Spains," as well as Goya's personal psychic turmoil, is the basis of his later work. In his sketches, etchings and the famous "black paintings" splashed on the walls of his home, Goya portrayed a dialectic of reason and unreason" frozen in Spanish culture, awaiting a necessary but impossible revolution of democratic, popular power and rationality.

Goya is particularly well-known for a series of etchings called "The Disasters of War" and for an earlier painting, "The Third of May, 1808." These works show French soldiers exe-

cuting and torturing Spaniards in the war that restored the Spanish monarchy and snuffed out any hopes for liberal democracy. The vivid portrayals of distraught men before a firing squad, of piles of dead and mutilated bodies are among the earliest artistic representations of horrors that have multiplied throughout the past two centuries.

Goya was not, however, directly reporting on war. He was, according to Williams, continuing his graphic dissection of the cost of Spain's backwardness.

In his first great series of en-

gravings, the "Caprichos," the Spanish landscape is haunted by bats, monsters, deformed humans, goblins, blood-sucking priests, demons, fools and tormentors. It is a world that is both torture chamber and carnival. The magical and mysterious figures of the historical nightmare are phantasms, but very human phantasms that have sprung from the minds of men and women and yet dominate them mercilessly.

The play of volumes of light and dark, indistinctly bounded, dominates these critical series of works, suggesting ominous forces at work beyond the central characters. They express in the artist's terms the play of reason and unreason in the subject matter.

Darkness, death and despair have the upper hand eventually. Goya's hopes for humanity were drowned in a disturbing, anguished pessimism.

Historian Williams has helped make sense not only of the often enigmatic works, nearly 100 of which are reproduced, but also of Spanish culture and Goya, the man. If his essay were less convoluted, obtuse, repetitious and presumptuous about the general reader's knowledge of Spain, it would be an even better introduction to a great artist.

—David Moberg

Gigantic *In These Times* subscription contest

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7. Everyone is eligible to play except people whose names appear in the *In These Times* staff box and their families.
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TELEVISION

'Who's Who' on prime time

Haven't you been wondering what Billy Carter's really like? On Tuesday night, Jan. 11, we got a chance to find out on "Who's Who," CBS' new spinoff from "Sixty Minutes," one of the 10 most watched shows on the networks.

On "Sixty Minutes" Mike Wallace and Dan Rather have made a certain thick-skinned, investigative zeal their stock in trade; they ask paid killers how they feel about their work and Jimmy Hoffa's foster son if he knows where Hoffa is. Rather, who is chief-editor of "Who's Who," jumped right in with a big one to Billy. "They say you bill yourself as just another southern redneck, Billy. Is this how you think of yourself?"

Right in the Carter tradition Billy did a Thoughtful Pause, then broke into a 90-watt smile. "Well, I guess I don't know exactly what a redneck is." Billy next applied another family talent: without addressing the question again he moved neatly onto both sides of the fence, making it clear that he was and wasn't a redneck.

His CB handle is "Castiron," which, he explained, had to do with his stomach. "Guess I can drink most anything in any combination 'n be okay the next day." Billy allowed as how he drinks six or seven cans of beer a day, a lot while hanging around his gas station, which serves as a local men's club. He also told Rather that he was a Wallace Democrat, but that "you have to stick with kin;" so when Jimmy ran, he did.

Then Rather moved in on Billy in his Plains office, the man who runs the peanut business, even though he is allergic to peanuts. Billy has built up the business considerably since taking over in 1970. This more thoughtful Billy was worried that his "redneck pose" had "created some sort of Frankenstein monster."

"...Well, I guess I don't know exactly what a redneck is."

...making it clear that he was and wasn't a redneck.

We also got to hear "Ms. Lillian" say that "maybe I loved Billy the most." Billy was "the baby" by more than 10 years. And we learned that Billy failed English four times, which flunked him out of Emory University, yet reads at least three books a week.

With a careful blending of cosying up and prying, Rather succeeded in letting us know a lot about Billy, probably more than Billy would have cared for us to know.

"Who's Who," it seems, will hit hard at personalities with the same energy that "Sixty Minutes" hits at important and unimportant controversy. Chances are that Americans will go for it. We do love to talk about people.

Then Barbara Howar, Johnson administration social luminary turned author, took us to an exclusive girls' boarding school in Connecticut. She didn't come up with anything too startling (the girls denied that there was any snobbery in their school), though the piece had interesting implications about what constitutes a quality education: their entire day is filled with planned activities and work; the absence of boys decreases competition, increases interest in work and caring for each other.

If at times Howar and Kuralt had trouble puffing up their material, it wasn't because they didn't give it all the journalistic virtuosity they could. Kuralt

spun out lots of cute phrases about shopping carts, such as "Nature abhors an empty shopping cart." At one point, after Howar had attempted to get her quiet, intelligent interviewee to say something "newsworthy," she threw up her hands and asked, "Don't you ever get the crazies?" The girl responded that she did, sometimes, in fact that she had just last week.

In its early days, the book publishing business sold more fiction than non-fiction. Now, non-fiction sells far better. No doubt this had something to do with what the public wanted. Perhaps the television industry will go the same route. In any event, it's clear that Americans now want all the "People" sections, magazines, and television shows they can get.

If this has the effect of tuning us all in, in more depth than at present, to real aspects of contemporary history, then the phenomenon is a good thing. If the seduction is accomplished with gossip and "human interest" prying, better that way than no way. Probably the show will continue to tiptoe adroitly along the thin line between "provocative" journalism and spice to convince us it is a respectable entertainment.

Coming up on "Who's Who" is an in-depth interview with Andrew Young in which Rather asks him a question that many have wondered about and few dared ask: did Young sell out by taking the post of U.N. ambassador? And if that's too political a subject, there will be other material. This week, in answer to a listener's question, we heard that Liz Taylor has put up the big diamond ring Richard Burton gave her for sale. Purpose: to help finance her new husband's budding political career. Tune in next week, folks....

—Jane Melnick



Photo by Tom O'Brien

THEATER

Interracial mime troupe writes collectively

In a turn-of-the-century saloon the women leaders celebrate pulling themselves and their men together to sustain a long strike in the Colorado copper mines. The scene is taken from "False Promises," the latest musical-extravaganza by the San Francisco Mime Troupe.

The Mime Troupe has been around for over 10 years. It first became integrated during the mid-1960s and now includes blacks and Chicanos, men and women. "False Promises" is their first effort to convey the complex political theme of mul-

ti-racial unity. The play was the culmination of eight months of collective historical study where the Troupe acted out each scene and evaluated its political content and psychological reality.

The results make for a groundbreaking piece of theater, even though some might say that the play tries to pack too much—history, music, comedy, politically "apt" one-liners, tragedy and vivid characters—into one night of drama.

After a 20-city tour of "False Promises," the Mime Troupe is now back in the Bay Area.

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IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Lawrence Klein: Carter's man behind the scene

"Unless entrepreneurs can be brought to look upon the entire system and their responsibility toward it, the Marxists will be correct."

By James Livingston

In his justly famous book, *The Keynesian Revolution* (2nd ed., 1968), Lawrence Klein wrote that "there is nothing more tragic than an economist floundering in the field of economic policy because his theory is confused." It is an arresting observation, because Klein was Jimmy Carter's principal adviser in the field of economic policy.

While he declined the chairmanship of the Council of Economic Advisers, he will remain as a senior adviser to the Brookings Institute, the private policy-formation body that has had significant influence over public economic decisions. In addition, as a past Carter adviser and close associate of Charles Schultze, Carter's CEA head, he will remain an influential consultant to the Carter administration.

Klein does not likely view himself as a tragic figure, so an examination of the general theoretical framework he employs should give some insight into the economic policies that can be expected from the Carter administration—and perhaps into the orientation of the herd of experts and academicians presently being assembled in the executive branch.

►Capitalism may destroy itself.

Klein, 56, has moved easily in the top circles of higher learning, where academia and business intermingle—where the experts, the servants of power, meet their masters. From the mid to the late 1960s, Klein was a consultant to the United Nations' Committee on Trade and Development, the state of New York, E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co., and A.T.&T. Besides his present association with the Brookings Institute, he is Benjamin Franklin Professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

But Klein is no mere lackey of corporate interests. As a young man of 26, he was a member of the Communist party. More important, he remains a thoughtful and creative economist who has no illusions about the moral or ethical superiority of private enterprise—like Keynes before him, he finds claims to that effect to be quaint at best. According to Klein, fascism is simply the "worst stage of capitalism" and is possible even in the U.S. "unless we are successful in bringing about Keynesian reforms or a socialist economy."

Unlike Keynes, he has learned a great deal about modern capitalism by taking Marxian economics seriously. Indeed, after mathematically reconstructing Marx's famous reproduction schemes, he concluded that "except for small random error, workers and capitalists have, in fact, behaved as the Marxian model says they behave." One could argue that the powers of Klein's continuing defense of Keynesian economics comes from his ability to use and learn from both models of thought.

As Klein sees it, "unless entrepreneurs can be brought to look upon the entire system and their social responsibility toward it, the Marxists will be correct" in predicting that capitalism will destroy itself. This is why he finds Keynes so useful. In order to look upon the entire system and interpret it properly to entrepreneurs, professional economists need a

theory that grasps the essential characteristics of modern capitalism.

Klein holds that Keynes' *General Theory* is unique in this respect, because it is built around the observable trend towards a chronic shortage of profitable investment outlets—in other words, because Keynesian theory focuses on the problem of surplus capital or the difficulty of "making savings pass into investment" at full employment rates. Klein stresses

This sort of earnest activity and crackpot realism invariably is conducted under the auspices of the executive agencies that are free of the "slow and cumbersome" debate that goes on in Congress—free, that is, of any responsibility to American citizens except as these are defined as corporate entities.

this Keynesian puzzle because once its importance is admitted, the use of the government's fiscal powers to supplement private investment and maintain employment at acceptable levels can be defended on theoretical as well as practical grounds.

This is why Klein asserts that "in pure economic logic, there is no reason why we cannot achieve full employment in peacetime." The problem, he understands, is to convince entrepreneurs that this economic logic is consistent with their interests. "Many capitalists," he states, will strongly oppose most of the effective measures in the Keynesian arsenal, because they "do not see the proper relationship between their own position and that of the system as a whole."

He does not find the recent past encour-

aging, because, as he observed in 1971, "the American economy limps along at less than full employment in peacetime and rises to full employment levels of activity only during a major war." But Klein believes that war is neither the only nor the best solution to the anarchy inherent in private profit-oriented methods of resource allocation.

Klein does not believe that socialist planning would necessarily be inferior to capitalist methods of resource allocation. In fact, he has written that "people in this country, at our present state of civilization, have vast unfulfilled desires; furthermore, we have the economic resources with which to fulfill these desires. Why should we not use these resources to fulfill these desires? In a socialist economy we would use these resources as fully as is physically possible. We have the desires, and we have the resources, but the people with the desires are often unable to influence the people with the resources."

►Executive planning is necessary.

And yet Klein is not a socialist, unless admiration for the symmetry and efficiency of economic planning defines a person as such. He is a (left) Keynesian who understands perfectly that the "Keynesian policy is, indeed, a conservative one because it aims to conserve free-enterprise capitalism." Klein feels that capitalists can be brought to true class consciousness, from whence they can properly judge the "relationship between full employment and their own profits." With the help of such an enlightened capitalist class, a Keynesian regime can combine aggressive fiscal policy and incentives to greater investment in an agreeable full employment recipe.

Klein believes, accordingly, that central planning of full employment fiscal policy in the executive branch is necessary to avoid inflation and economic instability. He cites the lack of flexibility in "Congressional debating techniques" as the primary cause of the inflation and general confusion that have accompanied deficit spending in the past—inevitably, he says, Congress is too slow to intercede with appropriate tax programs when inflationary pressures appear.

If Congress must continue to preside over fiscal policy, Klein suggests that a peacetime version of the Office of Price Administration might have to be established to stabilize prices: "We found during the war that the truly efficient way of preventing runaway inflation was through direct controls. These controls are also adaptable to peacetime."

►Is a corporate state needed?

It is no accident that Klein's administrative model is a wartime executive agency, for he is preaching state capitalism—a hybrid system of extensive public subsidies to and administrative "controls" on private enterprise, which, in the U.S., reached its highest stage of development during World Wars I and II. The Keynesian approach, he reminds us, "visualizes the state as the balancing force that serves

only to supplement the behavior of individual capitalists."

In practice, of course, this means that the state enforces the cartelization of the corporate economy and subsidizes the restriction of production. Under the state capitalist dispensation, public monies must also be used to create vast markets for weaponry and other equally useless goods. As Klein recently pointed out, each dollar deducted from the defense budget cuts gross national product by twice that amount.

This sort of earnest activity and crackpot realism invariably comes in the name of "stable" prices, "reasonable" returns on investment, and whatever passes for full employment at the moment. It is conducted under the auspices of executive agencies that are free of the "slow and cumbersome" debate that goes on in Congress—free, that is, of any responsibility to American citizens except as these are defined as corporate entities.

Klein's programmatic thinking is certainly ambitious. But then, he feels that the dismal performance of the American economy in peacetime demands bold innovation. He is right, of course. Yet it is fair to ask whether the consolidation of the corporate state toward which Klein's theory leads is necessary, or even adequate under present circumstances.

Without doubt, we need fresh thinking about American economic problems and possibilities. But if humane and creative economic experts like Lawrence Klein still believe that the conservation of corporate capitalism through executive manipulation of economic controls and fiscal technique solves current problems and defines future possibilities, it is time to look elsewhere for ideas.

It is time, in other words, that the American people were brought into a serious discussion of capitalist methods of resource allocation. On that basis, they will be able to decide for themselves between state capitalism and socialism. They might then be able to think of professional economists as Lord Keynes would have liked, "as humble, competent people, on a level with dentists."

James Livingston is a graduate student in American history at Northern Illinois University.

THEORY OF CAPITAL REPRODUCTION & ACCUMULATION

by SHINZABURO KOSHIMURA.
Yokohama National University; edited by
JESSE SCHWARTZ. University of Waterloo,
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Letters

A Boob-Tube? Damn!

Editor:

As an avid reader and hardworking distributor of *In These Times* I found your *In These Times* Subscription Contest to be a step backwards in promoting socialist consciousness. I am not in disagreement with the contest itself, but the prizes offered (two Sony televisions), your subtle anti-communism, and "American paper for Americans" appeal left me baffled. How can an anti-corporate newspaper make fun of the works of Trotsky and Lenin, and offer, instead, a product that is itself a corporate media device ("the key to mass entertainment")???

What about offering "the complete works of Mark Twain," or a paid vacation to a National Park? (But a Boob-Tube, damn!?) It is possible to be "American" and progressive, ya know.

—Daniel Graham
Syracuse, N.Y.

Editor's note: You may have a point, so I make the following offer. If the winner of the Sony color TV would prefer a complete set of the works of Mark Twain I'll trade my (slightly used) one for the TV.

A party now?

Editor:

ITT is performing a valuable role in beginning a serious discussion within the American left on the necessity of socialist participation in electoral politics. The recognition that the electoral arena must be entered if socialism is to be put on the agenda of American politics denotes a seriousness generally lacking in the American left, which continues to occupy a mystical never-never land.

It is in this light that we were disturbed by your editorial (Dec. 20) that suggests that the "broad diverse array of movements will take party form when it has the prospect of becoming a major party, by transforming or replacing one of the existing major parties." "Transforming" and "replacing" imply different strategies. The first involves working inside the Democratic party and this we strongly maintain would be quite ineffective. Modern history shows that it is difficult enough for the left to operate in social democratic parties. Those difficulties would be magnified considerably in the Democratic party, which is essentially a product of corporate hegemony.

The projected second alternative of postponing the formation of a socialist party until it can replace one of the existing major parties is also troublesome. This might be like Waiting for Godot. Socialism will only become a meaningful force in American politics when it is able to present a serious alternative for state power. This does not happen magically or instantly. The examples of the present French Socialist party or even the American Socialist party in the early decades of this century are instructive. A socialist movement from the early stages on needs a party that can provide a coherent framework for both ongoing struggles and an alternative hegemony/culture. The coherence of a socialist movement depends upon such a reference point.

The creation of a democratic socialist party will probably always seem premature until it is done. We feel there are sufficient prospects to justify working towards its formation now.

—Simon Rosenblum
—Andrea Walsh
Johnson City, N.Y.

A certain brightness of the eye

Editor:

Without a doubt, *In These Times* is one of the better things to have happened in America's Bicentennial year... And too, considering your content—devoid of the limitations of ultra rhetoric and the self-serving and quite manipulative dogmas of the past—your name, *The New Majority Publishing Company*, is in no way presumptuous.

I've even noted a somewhat 'teen-age' spring in the steps of my 60-year-old reader-friends; a certain 'brightness of the eye.' Whatever. I've a solid hunch that 'tigers' of the home-front variety, both paper and otherwise, and of all categories, are about to receive their long overdue 'come-uppance,' in this new year of '77.

—Arthur H. Landis
Hermosa Beach, Calif.

Women still unorganized

Editor:

I would like to correct some impressions that are not my views in the interview with me ("Union Maid," *ITT*, Dec. 6, 1976). In talking about the labor movement today I would characterize it as conservative in the main, not "reactionary" as printed. (Also, I came from Michigan, not Wisconsin.) Since the film was made almost three years ago it is true that there has been some reawakening in the general organizing of the unorganized—as evidenced in the valiant and courageous work of the farm workers, in the white collar field among government workers, in some offices, and in some hospitals. But this is just scratching the surface. The implications of not organizing the mass of unorganized workers, the overwhelming preponderance being women, has profound ramifications for the already organized working force, for the union movement as a whole and for the overall economy. Some of these issues your columnists are beginning to deal with, some right on target. This is informative and most welcome.

But the overwhelming majority of the women workers in this country remain unorganized. And until the organized labor movement addresses itself to this problem (and to organizing the workers in the South), I feel that it will not be the viable, militant force in our country that it could be and once was.

Your paper is informed, analytic, and an exciting addition to other weeklies in the field. Keep it up. In looking over the roster of writers, I am surprised that you do not have more women as regular writers.

—Stella Nowicki
Chicago

One good turn deserves another

Editor:

Please enter a gift subscription.... A friend subscribed to the paper for me, and I feel the least I can do is to do the same for someone else. After many years reading (and occasionally writing for) ridiculously sectarian left newspapers, *In These Times* is a breath of fresh air. Please feel free to put my name on your fund-raising lists for the future.

Have you any plans for using the paper as an organizing tool, e.g., setting up readers' groups, etc? If so, I'd be interested in hearing about them.

—James Cronin
Milwaukee, Wisc.

The only real voice?

Editor:

Your editorial of "The minor party vote" (*ITT*, Jan 5) is a contribution to the destruction of solidarity among leftists, and also an oversimplification of the political situation. The dilemma of any leftist party that wants to keep its identity while being responsive to numbers is brushed over in a slick and arrogant way reminiscent of the worst *New York Times* journalism. Your "realism" points to the bankruptcy of our electoral system rather than to the leftist parties involved.

It is a mistake for serious socialists to judge the value of a leftist organization or party primarily by its numbers—this eventually reduces the entire left to irrelevancy. In the face of personality politics, whereby issues either get reduced to one-minute TV slogans or get lost in the mass media's emphasis on appeal, image, and other cliches, these leftist minority parties are the only real voice in a desert. At least they attempt to bring the issues into the open; they—and only they—talk about the real causes of unemployment rather than promising easy solutions; they alone risk losing numbers by opening up ugly themes like the deterioration of the cities rather than constantly hedging on the subject as the majority candidates did in the so-called debates.

The numbers themselves say nothing about the bankruptcy of left parties; rather they speak to the successful and total "socialist taboo" in this country; they reveal the bankruptcy of the public media system. In addition to the difficulty in raising fundamental and therefore inconvenient and disturbing questions for a public accustomed to the political illiteracy of "entertainment news," they do not really get any effective publicity because the public sphere is reserved for the powers of the status quo.

What actually is the alternative implied in your flippant comment? To vote only for the majority parties because they have the power anyway? This in the last analysis means fully to give in to the "token ritual" of elections,

to extinguish the last voices raised against the one-dimensionality of "the lesser of two evils."

—Mechthild Hart
Bloomington, Ind.

Liberal stupidity?

Editor:

The Dec. 13 issue of *ITT* just wound its way thru the postal system, so I hope I'm not too late to comment on Saul Landau's astonishing reply to a previous letter writer:

"The (Jamaican) gun control law is a model for all countries. Guns are simply outlawed and heavy penalties are imposed for illegal possession of firearms."

Indeed! What cleverer way to deal with alleged CIA subversion than to facilitate a military coup by disarming the populace?

This may be Landau's idea of a Jamaican model of socialism, but it looks more to me like a universal model of liberal stupidity.

—Tom Condit
Berkeley, Calif.

Saul Landau replies: Castro also disarmed the population—that is criminals and counter-revolutionary elements. He formed a people's militia of hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries. In Jamaica, Manley's Home Guard will be a similar institution.

We came along from out of nowhere

Editor:

Upon receiving *In These Times* I wrote you that I hadn't ordered it nor was I interested. Now that I've read a couple of issues I find it is excellent and I'm very interested. For all I know, it was a gift. Whatever, I want to keep getting it. I don't recall sending you a check so maybe you'll be sending me a bill, which is ok.

—Frank H. Carson
Prescott, Ariz.

How to break out of the Democratic and Republican trap

Editor:

I take issue with your editorial "The Minor Party Vote" (*ITT*, Jan. 5), which concluded:

"From any point of view other than narrow doctrinal or organizational rivalry, these left presidential campaigns are a painful waste of financial and human resources, a token ritual that pro nothing except the bankruptcy of the parties concerned."

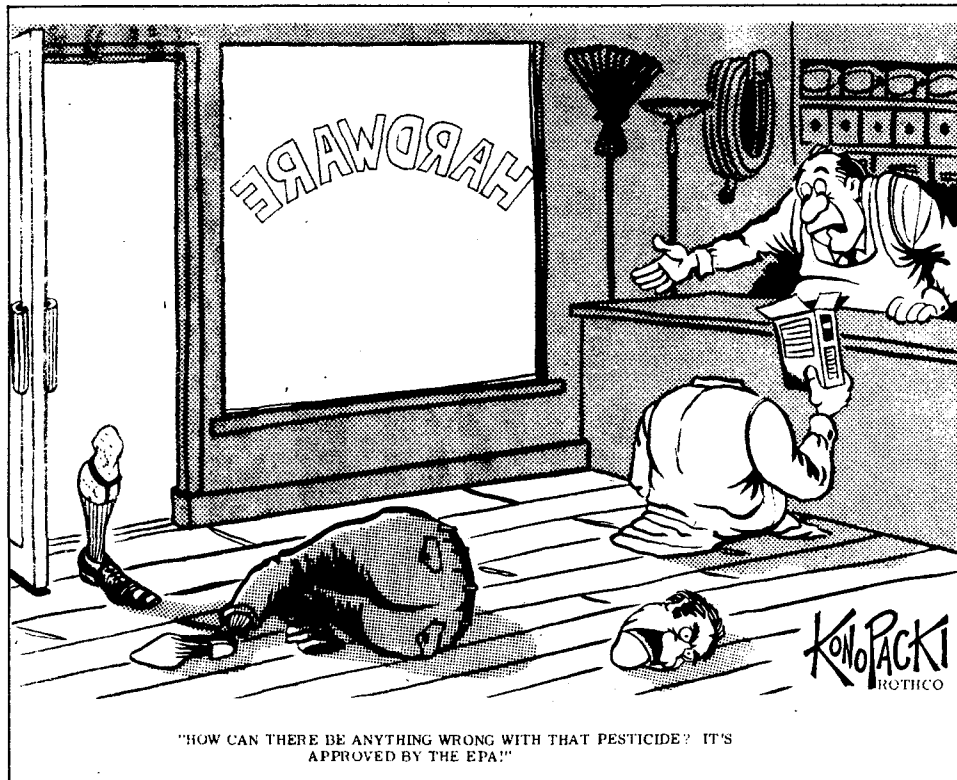
This is a surprising statement, especially in light of the articles in the same issue describing Carter's cabinet as favorable to big business and hostile to working people and minorities.

It appears that Gus Hall was correct in labeling both the Democrats and Republicans as political parties of monopoly. In fact, there are many, including myself, who voted for Carter in the slim hope that he would be significantly different from Ford, but now realize the futility of those hopes and realize that Gus Hall was telling the truth.

In These Times, in denouncing independent political action, is, in effect, endorsing the Democrats and feeding the illusion that there is some way progressive forces can "take over" the Democratic party. Admittedly, the independent vote was in a minority, but if the McCarthy votes are counted, it was much larger than in many years. In fact, the independent vote nearly cost Carter the election.

What is needed today is unity among left forces in this country in support of an independent anti-monopoly ticket. Such a formation offers the best hope for the American electorate to break out of the trap of the two party system.

—Charles Smith
Norman, Okla.



"HOW CAN THERE BE ANYTHING WRONG WITH THAT PESTICIDE? IT'S APPROVED BY THE EPA!"

Barbara Ehrenreich

Will National Health Insurance insure anyone's better health?

Not too long ago I congratulated a friend for finishing medical school. "Oh I haven't learned anything that would help anyone," she answered wryly. "We just learn how to name things."

I'd dismissed this as a case of false modesty until the following encounter with our pediatrician, a sensible-enough looking woman in her 50s. My son, she told me, might have Condition X. Diagnostic tests would take several days in the hospital and cost (Blue Cross, not me) upwards of \$750. Condition X, she explained, is incurable. On the other hand, she went on reassuringly, it has the advantage of being almost completely free of symptoms.

It took me a moment to absorb this information and a moment more to explain that, since we owned no stock in drug or hospital supply companies, we would pass up this opportunity to consume a few hundred dollars worth of tests. But the experience fed into my suspicion that medicine is rapidly losing touch with anything we might recognize as scientific rationality, not to mention plain common sense. There are studies that show that 35-45 percent of all drugs prescribed by doctors have no effect on the conditions for which they are prescribed. Hysterectomies are being done to cure migraines and lower back pain. Cancer-causing drugs

(such as estrogen derivatives) are dispensed generously to women of all ages, and, it turns out, certain cancer-curing drugs may cause additional cancers in later life.

And of course there was swine flu: The vaccination program seemed to operate on the same principle as using garlic to keep away vampires (you haven't seen any vampires, have you?)—except that nobody ever died of garlic.

I could go on. But this kind of talk barely even gets a rise out of the medical profession anymore. "We're just like the old witch doctors," the local liberal doc (sideburns, wide tie) confided to me with a jovial bedside chuckle. "All our fancy technology is just a modern version of magic."

Well, then, why not go to a witch doctor, or, if you can find one, a plain old unlicensed witch? If "scientific" medicine turns out to be a matter of trickery and ritual, then why shouldn't we shop around for cheaper or more congenial sorts of rituals: herbal cures, shiatsu (acupuncture massage), chiropractic, reflexology, faith healing, homeopathy, etc., etc.?

In the middle of all this confusion we may, if Carter doesn't change his mind, get some kind of national health insurance (NHI). Now I'm for NHI, especially if it's

financed by steeply progressive taxes, is not run by the private insurance companies, provides comprehensive coverage, and a few other provisos of that nature. But so far no NHI proposal, no matter how liberal, seems prepared to deal with the issue that grips the heart of modern medicine like a massive myocardial infarct: namely, is this (modern, scientific) medical care *worth* insuring? An insurance program is a way of making sure that medical care, as a commodity, gets paid for; it cannot, in and of itself, change the nature of that commodity.

Once NHI is passed—again, Carter willing—I predict a headlong rush for the gravy train. Every tarot card reader, psychic healer and licensed masseuse will insist that their services be reimbursed too. Civil libertarians will argue that the right to choose among competing types of healers (doctors, herbalists, etc.) is implicit in the Constitution. And who will gain-say them? The surgeons who remove tonsils to finance ski trips? The obstetricians who gave millions of pregnant women ineffective, but harmful, doses of DES? The pediatrician who dispenses antibiotics like candy? My friend the disillusioned medical graduate?

It may be that we are getting to the

point where health care (beyond certain basics like prenatal care and immunizations) will be viewed as a matter of personal taste. I can see the ads already: "Nine out of ten executives prefer the decisive feel of surgery." "Shiatsu—the *sensuous* solution to constipation." "Cleans you where a douche can't reach—Mercy Hospital's expert hysterectomies!" And so forth. At that point I think we should give up on NHI and apply our money to some less dubious measures like banning tobacco and distributing free food on the streets.

But if there is still any possibility of a rational, honest (dare I say "scientific"?) approach to taking care of sick people, then let's get on with it. I would like to see gatherings, all over the country, of community health activists, elderly people, nurses, mothers, victims of lower back pain and other experienced people of all descriptions—for the purpose of figuring out what health care ought to be and how we get there. The Feds would, I'm sure, be willing to fund these get-togethers out of NHI start-up funds. And who knows? Maybe even the doctors, cynical as they are, would have something to contribute.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author (with Deirdre English) of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*.



Ira Shor

The Westway in New York will help the auto industry, not mass transit

Lame-duck Transportation Secretary William T. Coleman Jr. flew into New York City recently with a final perverse gift from the outgoing Ford administration. He brought with him over a billion dollars to start construction of the controversial Westway, a 4.2 mile interstate highway to run from the tip of Manhattan to the midtown hub of West 42nd street. This last gesture is Ford's final way to tell New York to drop dead. He can get away with it because Westway divides the Big Apple Democrats. On one side are Mayor Beame, Governor Carcy, the regular Democrats, the construction industry and unions, and David Rockefeller, supporting the new highway. In opposition is a coalition of community, environmental and mass transit groups, supported by reform or progressive Democrats.

Coleman delivered his booty after supposedly receiving assurances from private enterprise that another \$7 billion would be invested in New York, if Westway got started. This care package for the city has made many eyes glitter green. The Rockefeller banks see the new infusion of money as one way that their prior loans to the city will be made more secure. The construction companies have a nose for fat profits in building contracts. In a town where unemployment in the building trades runs from 20 to 80 percent, the unions are desperately looking for jobs. They agreed to a no-strike pledge for the duration of Westway work, and earlier had accepted a 25 percent wage cut to get a federally funded housing renewal program. Pro-Westway forces pose the new highway as crucial to New York's economic recovery.

►The opposition.

The opposition argues that the new road will only bring in more heavy traffic and buses to an already densely traveled west side of Manhattan. The noise and air pollution expected both during and after construction will make a bad situation intolerable, they claim. Further, they point out that New York needs the full \$1 billion for mass transit, not highways. Coleman's billion-dollar baby includes a previously budgeted \$78 million sop for mass transit. As further concessions to the resilient opposition, Coleman and the other planners had to include park areas near the road and affirmative action in hiring. Minority hiring rights in construction have not yet materialized, and it's easier to imagine how pleasant a park near a roaring expressway will be.

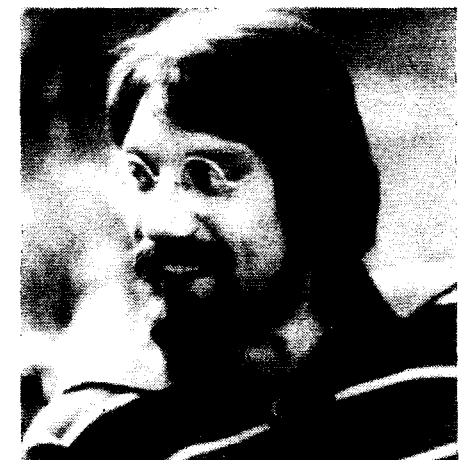
Unsatisfied with promises, the community coalition says that mass transit uses less energy in the building phase and provides more jobs in the post-construction period. They argue that more roads encourage more traffic. New York's experience with the Throg's Neck Bridge and with the Long Island Expressway demonstrates that traffic quickly expands beyond the capacity of each new roadway.

Now that Coleman has linked arms with Beame, Carey and Rockefeller, the anti-Westway forces plan to fight on in the courts and in November at the polls, when the Mayor is up for re-election. Six Democratic members of New York's Congressional delegation support their efforts. However, the people of New York have been softened up to accept the new road, by both the economic crisis and by

editorials in the *Daily News*. The *News* has announced that "Westway is the best-way" for a city needing jobs. In a town badly needing public money as well as jobs, no popular force is strong enough to mandate the social uses of capital. The official propaganda campaign linking Westway to jobs and recovery will make the highway acceptable, despite the claims of the ecology coalition. Sensing this, cocky Coleman pushed the money across the table to an eager Beame and Carey. Coleman declared that any future Transportation Secretary who promised to reduce the use of the automobile was a "liar." To him, gasoline is the blood of America pumping through an internal combustion heart.

►For now, sad but true.

For the immediate future, he is unfortunately right. Since World War II, suburbanization has gone hand-in-hand with automobiles. The rise of the highway lobby and the withdrawal of capital from railroads have left to trucks the delivery of more and more goods. Further, the retreat of jobs and housing from central cities has made the car indispensable to working people. Workers who have to commute from job to home in a society with poor mass transit, have no choice but to rely on cars. Also, low consumer prices in a period of runaway inflation can most often be found in far-flung shopping plazas, accessible mostly by car. In addition, now that four million working people attend community colleges, the campus has become one more destination in their daily commuting.



Besides convenience and necessity, the car is also a symbol of status, freedom, and mobility. After workers take care of life's necessities—job, home, family, shopping—they use the car for fast getaways. Cars enable people to move quickly to the leisure-time places that compensate for a life of hard work. Going to recreation by car is easier, safer, faster, more fun, and offers a wider geographic choice of activities. Lastly, for young people who can't afford their own apartments and have to live with their parents, the cheap jalopy is a private place to have sex, one of the few spaces they can control.

This complex of needs for cars and trucks, joined together by the promise of jobs and economic recovery, will make such projects like Westway hard to stop. The production and use of so many vehicles is not only choking urban streets and air, but also distorting the economy, in using up so many resources and so much labor. A policy of mass transit development coupled with full employment is needed. The anti-Westway forces engage these issues. They have lost a battle, but are still fighting the war, and may have more allies in the hundreds of transit workers who stormed public hearings on subway cutbacks, less than a day after Coleman tip-toed out of town.

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Editorial



A demonstration at Camp Pendleton against the Klan.

Photo by Image Arts, S.D.

Ban the Klan: a trap to avoid

As we reported two weeks ago ("Camp Pendleton Racial Violence," *ITT*, Jan 5.), there have been some 200 incidents of racial violence at the Marine Corps' Camp Pendleton near San Diego in the last three years. One of these, on Nov. 13, 1976, involved a fight between blacks and whites and brought to public attention the growth of Ku Klux Klan organizing among white marines. It also exposed once again, the discriminatory treatment and violation of rights and human dignity suffered by blacks at the base.

The Klan's organization has proceeded under a 1971 directive that Defense Secretary Melvin Laird issued under pressure from the intense political activity of military personnel against racism and the war in Vietnam. The directive marked a significant victory for movements on the left seeking to secure political rights for members of the armed forces and to democratize military service.

Laird ordered that no political group could be banned within the armed services as long as it did not violate military regulations.

Military regulations, the U.S. Constitution and federal law upon which they are based, require that as an agency of the government, no armed service, and no members thereof, singly or in concert, may act or conspire to deny or violate the rights of any citizen or persons, including equal protection of the law and equal opportunity.

Neither black service personnel or organizations nor other progressive or left service personnel or organizations, have attempted to deny or obstruct the rights of others. They have championed those

rights. And they have been victims of discrimination, and of inequality in rights and opportunities. In response, they have organized properly to redress their grievances and for other lawful purposes.

As an arm of the federal government, the Marine Corps must enforce equal rights for all service personnel and must respect the rights of all other citizens with which it has relations. The U.S. government—the Executive, the Congress, and the Judiciary—is bound by the Constitution and the law to see that such equality of rights is strictly observed, to dismiss and punish those officers and other responsible personnel who do not enforce, or who violate equality of rights.

The laws and military regulations already on the books provide for this and must be enforced.

Military officers as well as responsible government officials, starting with the Secretary of Defense and the service secretaries, who do not see to their enforcement are culpable. They are in violation of the law and of their oaths of office, and should be removed and, where appropriate, prosecuted for dereliction of duty and felony. In the last analysis, the President as commander-in-chief holds ultimate responsibility. But Congress, too, is duty bound to maintain close oversight.

The world and this society would be better if the Klan and other racist organizations were no longer around. But wishing will not make it so. And in the light of American history, a law or regulation banning such organizations is little more than a wish in the form of a legalistic or bureaucratic fiat. Such laws have never put an end to racist or right-wing organ-

izations. On the contrary, they have invariably been turned against progressives and the left.

The Smith Act, for example, was ostensibly passed to combat Nazi organizations in the United States in the late 1930s and 1940s, but was used almost exclusively against Trotskyists and Communists. Even a ban specifically against racist organizations in the armed services would most likely be used against blacks seeking to protect and exercise their rights, while the Klan would continue on its way with the patronage of conservative and racist officers.

Given the desirable legal tradition in the United States against bills of attainder, laws against organizations that seek to deprive persons of their rights must be framed in general terms. In responding to the Klan provocation at Camp Pendleton, the San Diego Urban League called for a general review of Laird's policy of "allowing persons in uniform to belong to subversive or extremist organizations to determine whether or not it is in the interest of national security."

This formula is precisely the one traditionally used against democratic, progressive, and left forces, and seldom against the right or racists.

If the Camp Pendleton incident were designed as a trap to withdraw the political rights of service personnel won in 1971, it could not have been more cleverly laid. But that is no reason to fall into it. If it is not such a design, let us not trap ourselves. The incident should not be allowed to become a pretext for suppressing political rights of military personnel.

The best antidote to racist organizations is not legalistic or bureaucratic fiat to ban political organization and democratic rights, but more political organization and ideological struggle by progressive people, black and white, in the armed services and in society at large. For not only will that mobilize people actively against racism and isolate the racists, as such organization and struggle by blacks and progressive people have increasingly done since the 1950s in society as a whole, but it will also be the most effective way of forcing the government and the military services to enforce and strengthen the laws and regulations already on the books.

In this sense, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in defending the Klan against a political ban, is right both in principle and in political intelligence. But the San Diego ACLU head Michael Pancer is wrong in saying: "The primary purpose of the ACLU is not to eradicate racism.... But ... to protect the First Amendment for everyone."

The essence of racism is to deny civil liberties, including the First Amendment, to people of the "wrong race," and then to their allies. The essence of civil rights is to secure equal rights and liberties, equal protection of the law, and equal opportunities for all. The ACLU should be the first to know that civil liberties and civil rights are indivisible.

Racism and its assault on civil rights is a menace to civil liberties and to republican institutions. Of all the vile deformities spawned and nurtured by modern capitalism, racism is the most malignant enemy of human dignity and freedom.